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BATTERED WOMEN: A PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF WOMEN'S RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Battered Women: A Psychosocial Study of Women's Response to Violence," submitted by Debby Boddington in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Education in Counselling Psychology.

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Date October 6, 1982

TO MY FATHER

Gunder Waldal, in loving memory

His enthusiasm, loving support, and esteem for his daughter, and her work on this thesis, now remains sorrowfully as a memorial, in light of this project's fruition.

ABSTRACT

The first purpose of the study was to determine if battered women who left a violent relationship could be distinguished from those who returned, or effectively remained in a battering situation, on the basis of a number of sociological and personality variables identified from the literature. As such, the study sought to investigate if the two groups of women (returners and non-returners) could be distinguished on the basis of the following sociological characteristics: number of children, age of oldest child, education, employment, severity of violence, observation of parental violence during childhood, and being a recipient of parental violence during childhood. Measurements of internal and external self concept, locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women represented the psychological dimensions on which the two groups were also examined. A second purpose of the study was to determine if battered women, irrespective of their decision to leave or return to a violent partner, could be distinguished from the general population on the basis of the psychological dimensions listed above.

Subjects were 42 women who were in residence at a local battered women's shelter and volunteered to take part in the research. A follow-up of residents was conducted one month after their departure from the shelter.

At this time it was ascertained that 13 women had returned to the violent relationship (group 1) and 29 had maintained an independent living status separate from their partner (group 2).

A Hotelling T^2 analysis was used as the primary statistical procedure to compare the two groups on sets of measures. Results revealed no significant differences between the two groups. However, a descriptive comparison of demographic and sociological characteristics did uncover some general themes. Secondly, the Hotelling T^2 analysis was employed to compare the total sample of 42 women with the published norms of the psychological test instruments. Results indicated that battered women scored significantly lower on two measures of self concept (identity and behavior), and three measures of external self concept (physical self, moral ethical self, family self). The total group were also found to be significantly more external in terms of locus of control, lower in self-esteem, and more liberal in their attitudes about the rights and roles of women in society. The results were discussed in light of the current literature on battered women and recommendations for future research were made. In conclusion, the implications for the treatment of battered women were examined.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When viewed as a behavioral event, wife battering should not be envisioned as a new phenomenon. However, until the middle 1970's the violent abuse that occurred between intimates and spouses was largely confined to being hidden behind the closed doors and drawn shades of family life.

The term "wife battering" has gained its heritage from a similar movement against familial violence, namely that of child abuse. As the child's rights movement gained national attention in the late 1960's, the abusive aspects of family life were uncovered and, in turn, the traditional image of the family as an enduring, tranquil institution began to erode. These events were to set the stage for, and contribute to, bringing the issue of wife abuse into focus. With the establishment of the first battered women's shelter in England by Erin Pizzey and the coinciding efforts of the National Organization of Women in the United States, the subject of wife battering was brought to the public's attention and the impetus was provided for establishing a network of shelters for abused women throughout North America.

Although the publication of professional and popular articles closely followed, currently there still remains a lack of conceptual, analytic and interpretive concensus amongst researchers in this new emerging field (Pagelow, 1979; Stahly, 1978). That little empirical data is available to confirm theoretical speculation is also evident and reflective of the difficulties incurred when attempting to scrutinize this particularly silent and hidden crime. However, the fact that researchers (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980) have estimated that the family is as, or more violent than any single institution or setting, with the exception of the military, is cause for serious concern. In addition, predictions (Walker, 1979a) that one out of two adult women will be seriously abused by an intimate male sometime in their lives, indicates that wife abuse is not simply a behavioral problem particular to certain individuals. Rather, the existence of the battered woman in today's society has presented a social problem of proportions that are far more pervasive and potentially lethal in nature than was ever once believed.

In specifically examining the problem of wife battering, it should be recognized that this study proposes to examine the context and consequences for the female victim of violence. By doing so, abuse is viewed from the perspective of only one of two parties and becomes limited to a discrete form of domestic violence that is directed toward women by men. However, this statement should not be taken to mean that there are no other forms of serious family violence.

To begin with, as Straus et al. (1980) found in their national study of violence in the American family, the incidence of child abuse, husband battering, sibling violence and even violence directed toward grandparents by their own children attests to the fact that individuals run the greatest risk of assault, physical injury, or even murder in their own home by members of their own family. Yet as these forms of violence have a commonality in the violent acts that are committed, so do they differ. There are obvious differences along the dimensions of degree, persistence and direction of force, severity, the nature of the relationship, and motivation behind the use of force. Most importantly, these forms of violence differ socially in terms of the setting in which they occur and the degree of legitimacy accorded them in society (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). For example, evidence to date (Dobash & Dobash, 1978, 1979; Fields, 1978; Fleming, 1979; MacLeod, 1980) has pointed to the unidirectional nature of marital violence by revealing that persistent, long term, severe violence by husbands against wives is epidemic and far more prevalent than serious violence by wives against husbands. Secondly, counterviolence by a wife toward her husband, although an uncommon event, is usually an act of self-preservation activated after women have endured prolonged violence against themselves or their children (MacLeod, 1980; Walker, 1979a; Brown, Note 1). Thirdly, there is a strong relationship reported (Walker, 1979a) between wife abuse, child abuse, and incest. In homes where these types of violence occur, the abusers are the male batterers. Thus there is a greater liklihood of a man behaving abusively toward his whole family, not only his wife. Finally, the existence of battered wives, until very recently, has largely been explained away by viewing these women as victims of their own masochism, rather than as victims of aggressors.

Thus, while wife battering may be part of a larger entity that is labelled physical aggression, family violence, or simply marital conflict, wife abuse, as a specific form of violence against women, needs to be studied in its own right to be able to begin to elucidate the real significant differences and similarities between various forms of family violence.

The Nature of the Problem

MacLeod's (1980) report to the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women estimated that "every year 1 in 10 Canadian women who are married or in a relationship with a live-in lover are battered" (p. 21). Contrary to popular myth, the typical battering relationship has not been found to be victim precipitated, masochistic in nature, alcohol induced, or a product specific to the lower socioeconomic levels. Rather, there has been a great deal of recent evidence (Dobash & Dobash, 1978, 1979; MacLeod, 1980; D. Martin, 1976, 1978; Walker 1979b, Note 2) that the phenomenon of wife battering appears to be rooted in the sanctioned and reinforced traditions, beliefs, and sex roles that are embodied in the familial, legal, and social institutions of present day society; not the least of which involves the complex psychosocial factors that perpetuate the process of victimization and bind a battered woman to her batterer.

The question of why women who suffer repeated physical abuse from their partners remain in the situation is puzzling in that the general laws of human nature would predict that the victim of such abuse would avoid or flee the physical violence perpetuated by an aggressor. As Gelles (1976) has pointed out:

> The decision to either stay with an assaultive spouse or to seek intervention or dissolution of a marriage is not related solely to the extent or severity of the physical assault . . . The assumption that the victim would flee from a conjugal attacker overlooks the complex subjective meaning of . . . violence, the nature of commitment and entrapment to the family as a social group, and the external constraint which limits a woman's ability to seek outside intervention. (p. 659)

Sociological retrospective studies, in attempting to answer why women fail to make a break from a violent relationship have commented upon numerous personal, social and material factors. Lack of education, occupational and financial resources, the presence of children, past socialization into violence, and lack of availability of effective assistance and protection all appear to be associated with a woman's inability to leave. However, these repeated associations have just begun to receive empirical attention.

Research also has not fully considered the psychological variables and personality characteristics that distinguish between those battered women who remain in a violent situation and those who seek dissolution of a marriage. There has been little attempt to investigate the psychological dynamics that perpetuate tolerance and ambivalence toward the violent situation. Much of the existing knowledge has been gathered from descriptive studies and points to the importance that low self-esteem, sex role conditioning, fear, guilt, and dependency needs play in producing feelings of entrapment, however, the testing of specific hypotheses is still lacking. Subsequently, theoretical formulations in this field remain at the speculative stage and applications of theory to treatment and therapy for battered women have just begun to be explored.

The most promising psychological rationale put forth to date is that of Walker (1978b, 1979a, 1979b, Note 2, Note 3), who has sought to examine the links between Seligman's (1975) concept of learned helplessness and the battered woman's syndrome. Walker contends that battered women hold a faulty cognitive set or belief that they do not have control over response-outcome variables. Learning of the noncontingent nature of aversive stimuli subsequently interferes with the acquisition of an escape response. If women learn that they cannot control being beaten, yet also learn that they need someone to take care of them, helplessness and inability to leave the situation can result.

If the rationale of learned helplessness is employed to account for the behavior that maintains the victim status of many battered women then it can be hypothesized that a number of personality dimensions may be involved. In addition, such personality characteristics may be learned as adaptive behavior to cope with the violent relationship.

In summary, it becomes clear that a woman's decision to either leave or remain with an assaultive spouse is the end product of a complex interaction of individual, environmental and intrapsychic factors. Therefore, theories which emphasize the importance of one factor over all others in determining behavior are misleadingly simple. Moreover, the almost complete absence of attempts to test theoretical frameworks is a serious limitation on their relevance. A first step toward a clearer understanding of how battered women become entraped in a violent relationship is to start to explore and identify more clearly the factors that descriptive and retrospective studies have found to be associated with a woman's decision to either leave or remain with a violent spouse.

The study of battered women's psychological response to abuse, their choice of whether or not to remain in a violent relationship, and the economic, personal, and social constraints they experience as limiting their choice, are all essential to being able to develop better shelter programs, crisis management services, and psychotherapy that is tailored to the needs of victims of violence and their families.

Purposes of the Study

The primary objective of the present study was to examine seven sociological variables and three personality dimensions as to their ability to differentiate between battered women who return to an abusing partner and those who leave and opt for independent living. A second objective of this study centered around investigating the nature of battered women's personality profiles, as distinguished from that of the general population.

The variables on which the population and two groups were tested have been derived from the literature. The variables labelled sociological were those suggested, in part, from the research conducted by Gelles (1976) and included: severity and frequency of violence, number of children, age of oldest child, education, employment, observation of parental violence in childhood, and recipient of parental violence in childhood. The variables labelled psychological were derived both from the descriptive literature and the hypotheses that were put forth by

Walker (1978b, 1979b, 1981, Note 2, Note 3) who developed them on the basis of the learned helplessness model. These variables were measured by three dimensions of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, the Rotter Internal-External Locus of Control Scale and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale. The sociological and psychological factors will be discussed in greater depth in the latter part of Chapter Two.

Delimitations of the Study

This study was exploratory in nature and focused upon a group of women in residence at WIN (Women in Need) house, an Edmonton shelter for battered women and their children. The women in this study were not randomly selected and were only representative of women who seek and are admitted to this particular Edmonton transition house. Subsequently, any attempt to generalize the findings to all battered women or the shelter populous in general should be done with caution.

Two subcategories of battered women were distinguished on the basis of whether they returned to live with their partner or established independent living arrangements one month after leaving WIN house. One should be aware that each group of women may have had a history of leaving and returning to a partner before arriving at WIN house. Categorically, all subjects had left a violent home, at least temporarily, and therefore shared the experience of having sought intervention.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter One has described the nature of the problem and outlined the purposes of the present study. Chapter Two reviews the literature on battered women and familial violence, with specific reference to the research that is pertinent to the present study being covered in the latter part of this Chapter. The design of the study, the specific instruments utilized, and the rationale for their inclusion, will be described in Chapter Three. Chapter Four will present the research findings and Chapter Five will explore the theoretical and therapeutic implications of the results.

Throughout, the terms "wife", "woman", and "victim" and "husband", "partner", and "batterer" will be used as descriptive terms in reference to interpersonal and familial roles and in keeping with the different perspectives on the problem. Discussion will center on women assaulted by men in situations where couples may either be legally married, in a common-law marriage, or cohabitating. In addition, the term normative sample, will be used to refer to the published norms of the test instruments.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Problems in Determining the Extent of Wife Battering

Due to the difficulty in obtaining accurate and meaningful data regarding frequency, estimates of the number of battered women in North America have varied widely. As Fleming (1979) has pointed out, the criminal justice, legal, medical, and social service systems have not recognized wife abuse as a formal category and therefore have not developed the means of reporting incidents and compiling meaningful data. For example, D. Martin (1976) has outlined how the occurrence of wife abuse eventually becomes obscured by official police statistics. She noted that initially the incident may be categorized as a domestic disturbance, yet, depending upon the severity of injury and the policeman's discretion, cases of abuse may be recorded as assault and battery, aggravated assault, or, in many cases, not recorded at all. LaPrairie (1978) reported on a study done by the Centre of Criminology at the University of Toronto which found that, of 45 calls which were dispatched as "domestics", only 16 were officially recorded and, of these, only 8 were categorized as assaults.

Pagelow (1979) has argued that, even if the police and other agencies accurately differentiated and recorded the occurrence of wife beating, this procedure would only culminate in a measurement of the number of cases that come to the attention of authorities, not of the extent and severity of the problem. Pagelow stated:

> As we know from other crimes of violence against persons, the vast majority of such crimes never become part of the official record. For example, the FBI estimates that only one out of ten actual rapes is reported, and woman battering has been estimated to occur three times more frequently than rape. (p. 338)

Estimates of the amount of marital violence that occurs in contemporary society, given available records, have prompted one writer, Franke (1976), to designate wife abuse as the single most underreported crime in North America.

Numerous other factors have been identified as contributing to the lack of information on incidence and the reluctance of women to report battering behavior. D. Martin (1976), J. Martin (1978), Van Stolk (1976), and Walker (1979b) have found that feelings of shame, helplessness, and fear of retaliatory action from a spouse often impede reporting and help seeking. In addition, there is evidence that various disavowal techniques are employed by both partners to keep marital violence within the nuclear family and hidden from outsiders. Gelles (1972) found that, in many cases, wife battering comes to be seen as legitimate within the family and its seriousness is often attenuated. According to Dobash and Dobash (1979), women do not report the violent treatment they receive because of their belief that the violence will eventually cease and their internalization of the ideals of privacy and respectability. In their study of 109 women, less than 2% of the assaults suffered were ever reported to the police.

Many writers in the field (Flynn, 1977; MacLeod, 1980; D. Martin, 1976, 1978, 1979; McClintock, 1978; Van Stolk, 1976) have emphasized that the statistical question posed as to the extent of wife abuse is simply not an actuarial one, but one that is bound up with an assessment of the social, legal and institutional attitudes toward wife battering. These authors have documented how social norms, traditional beliefs, and attitudes tend to covertly condone wife battering and facilitate what can be termed as a non-interventionist attitude on the part of the police, courts and other helping agencies. As Gelles (1976), MacLeod (1980) and Roy (1977a) found in their studies of wife battering, those women who did attempt to identify themselves frequently met with agencies that either reflected these attitudes or did not attempt to adequately deal with, record, or prevent acts of marital violence. Subsequently, there exist a number of battered women who do not continue to seek aid due to their past experiences with the inefficacy of outside agencies. In addition, Miller (1975) cited lack of certainty as to the sort of help desired, and ignorance as to the appropriate resources available, as two other major blocks to reporting battering behavior.

Estimating Incidence and Severity

The statistics available on the incidence and severity of wife battering have been derived or extrapolated from various indirect sources. These include data available on homicides, assaults, domestic disturbance calls, occupancy rates of shelters, and surveys in specific regions of the country.

The only large scale sociological survey to date involving a representative random sample of American families is that conducted by Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980). Of the 2,143 families studied, they found that 28% of the couples admitted to physically assaulting one another sometime during their marriage. These authors, on the basis of pilot studies and informal evidence, estimate that the true national incidence rate is 50 or 60%. Straus (1978) noted that 3.8% of the above sample's respondents reported one or more physical attacks in a one year period that could be categorized as wife beating, that is, acts that ranged from kicking, biting, hitting with an object, to use of a lethal weapon. Applying these incidence rates to the United States, Straus estimated that, yearly, 1.8 million wives are beaten by their husbands and that, at some point during their marriage, at least five million American wives have been chronically and severely abused by their husbands. Gregory (1976), in extrapolating figures obtained from the Citizens Advice Bureau and the Report of the House of Commons debate in England, estimated a national incidence of 20,000 to 50,000 cases a year.

Canadian statistics, that have been based on applications for divorce on the grounds of physical cruelty and transition house residents, estimate that 40,000 to 50,000 women in Canada in 1978 suffered sufficient physical and mental abuse to seek outside help (MacLeod, 1980).

An additional avenue for gathering evidence of wife abuse has been the analysis of patterns of assault, homicides and domestic disputes. Gaguin (1978), in presenting findings from the National Crime Survey in the United States, reported that husbands or ex-husbands were responsible for one quarter of all assaults against ever-married women. Fleming (1979), reporting on statistics gathered by the Center for Women Policy Studies, cited the following figures:

> In Atlanta 60 percent of all calls received . . . are reported domestic disputes . . . . At a Boston City Hospital, approximately 70 percent of the assault victims received in the emergency room are women who have been attacked in the home . . . . A Chicago police survey reported that 45.1 percent of all major crimes . . . committed against women during a six month period occurred in the home. (pp. 330-331)

McClintock's (1978) research into criminal offences in England and Wales revealed that over 30% of all violent offences occur within the home. Of these, 90% were attacks by males against females. A Hamilton Ontario Police survey of family dispute calls over a one year period found that 84% involved assault. Of these assaults, 95% involved attacks against women (Byles, 1978).

Additional evidence of these patterns of family violence comes from homicide studies. Wolfgang's (1958, 1968) early research on homicides in Philadelphia found that intimate or primary relationships were involved in the majority of murders investigated. Female victims were significantly more likely to be murdered by their spouse, whereas male victims were more often killed by someone outside the family. Of the family homicides investigated, Wolfgang found that two thirds were spouse slayings and comprised the largest proportion of what he termed violent homicides; those in which there were more than five assaultive acts. Although there was not a great divergence in the number of murders committed by husbands and wives, Wolfgang's research revealed that husbands were significantly more likely to kill their wives violently.

According to Bard (1977), of all murders reported in the United States in 1972, 24.3% were between family members. MacLeod (1980), in summarizing Statistics Canada's 1974 report on homicides, has listed the following figures:

> Between 1961 and 1974, 60% of all female victims were killed within a family context, more than double the proportion of male victims. Physical beating as the direct cause of death is most prevalent in common-law family murders, where it accounts for 29.5% of these murders. Beating is the cause of death in . . . 16.9% of immediate family murders (i.e. murders in families where the spouses are legally married. (pp. 10-11)

Dobash and Dobash (1979), in reviewing the major research efforts into homicides and assaults, concluded that these findings provide irrefutable evidence that the use of severe physical force between adults within the family is not randomly distributed, but rather, systematically directed at women in their position as wives or intimates of men. That the home is also the location of an extraordinary proportion of killings, with women being the most likely victims, raises other issues. According to Thompson (1978), traditionally the criminal justice system has tended to minimize the seriousness of domestic disputes and has reinforced the belief that one may assault one's spouse with relative impunity. From the statistics reviewed on incidence, it becomes clear that until battering behavior is perceived and acknowledged as a crime, rather than a distasteful means of handling relationship problems, society will be unable to provide the necessary deterrents to, and protection from, assault that battered women need. The ultimate danger however, is that unchecked violence often leads to lethal endings of these relationships (Browne, Note 1).

Defining Wife Battering

Throughout the literature, the term "battered wife" has been used quite loosely to describe a range of stereotypes which differ substantially from one another. Some researchers have simply utilized a definition of physical violence causing bodily injury as the primary criterion while others have investigated the phenomenon on the assumption that the term battering is self explanatory. Battering, abuse, violence and assault are also found to be used synonymously, adding to the ambiguousness of just what is being studied.

Generally, "wife" is understood to apply to any woman who is involved in an intimate relationship with a man, whether in a formal marital union or not (Flynn, 1977). Freeman (1979), Gayford (1978), Miller (1975), and Scott (1974) appear to have formed the largest camp of definitional concensus by defining a battered wife as someone who has suffered deliberate, severe, and repeated physical injury unwillingly at the hands of her partner.

Gelles (1972) and Straus et al. (1980), in their respective studies of family violence, have limited their criteria of violence to specific physical acts as measured by a Physical Violence Index. This index distinguishes between milder forms of violence and more serious forms that pose a danger to the physical safety of an individual. While the index does not reflect what is permissible violence, the milder forms have been found to be viewed by a majority of family members as normal or deserved. These sociologists have concluded that there is an implicit cultural norm which legitimizes milder forms of violence within the family. Their definition of wife beating is restricted to the occurrence of one of the following high risk, illegitimate, physical attacks: kicking, biting, pinching, hitting with an object, beating up, threatening with a knife or gun, or the use of a knife or gun.

Miller (1975) has argued that a distortion of the social reality of the situation may be introduced when specific emphasis is placed on examining physically battered wives. Miller has posed the following questions:

> Should cases be excluded where the wife is only threatened with violence, with or without actual menaces with a fist or weapon, or where she is persistently subjected to intolerable behavior falling just short of physical violence, when in many ways such treatment is similar to that of the wife who is assaulted? Clearly the boundaries between violence and other forms of "cruelty" . . . cannot be finally established and perhaps the broader topic of the "tormented" or "maltreated" wife is a more coherent area for study. (pp. 10-11)

In addressing the above issues, Walker (1978a, 1979b) developed a definition of battering which takes into account the psychological aspects of abuse. In interviewing 120 battered women, Walker found that women most often reported that the psychological abuse in their marriages was more severe and subjectively more painful than the physical. The constant threat of death, excessive jealousy, extreme verbal harrassment, threats of violence made toward the children, and marital rape were commonly reported. Incorporating these findings, Walker (1979b) offered the following definition:

> A battered woman is a woman who is repeatedly subjected to any forceful physical or psychological behavior by a man in order to coerce her to do something he wants her to do without any concern for her rights. Battered women include wives or women in any form of intimate relationship with men. Furthermore in order to be classified as a battered woman, the couple must go through the battering cycle at least twice. (p. xv)

In a later study, Browne (Note 1) attempted to further clarify the above definition for purposes of measurement. Physical abuse was defined as "any form of coercive physical assault, with or without injury" (p. 5). Psychological abuse was defined retrospectively on the basis of common accounts women gave of their partner's behavior toward them, and included any of the following: extreme verbal harrassment and/or threat, excessive possessiveness, and physical or psychological restraint on activities. While broadening the social realities of the problem, this definition has also attempted to emphasize the interpersonal context of abuse by identifying intent and subjective impact as the crucial aspects for study. However, operationalizing this definition would present difficulties.

In summary, it becomes clear that definitional concensus as to what constitutes a battered woman is lacking. Moreover, the presence of ambiguous or arbitrary criteria in many studies has pointed to the necessity for researchers to clarify concepts, conditions and parameters before a relatively coherent examination of the field can be made. However, the basic assumption throughout the literature has been that battering is a willful form of physical attack, the intention of which is to cause, or attempt to cause, pain or injury. Repetitive physical abuse may or may not be defended against and is suffered unwillingly.

Theories of Wife Battering and Familial Violence

Feminist - Political Perspective

The theoretical orientation most clearly associated with a feminist-political stance is that violence directed at women is a reflection of the unequal power relationships that exist between the sexes. A majority of writers in the field (Calvery, 1974; Davidson, 1977, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1978, 1979; Field & Field, 1973; Freeman, 1979; MacLeod, 1980; D. Martin, 1976, 1978, 1979; Roy, 1977b; Straus, 1977; Van Stolk, 1976; Walker, 1979b, 1981, Note 2) have identified the sexist organization of society and its family system as one of the most fundamental factors accounting for the high level of wife beating.

Documentation and critique has been two fold. First, studies have focused on evaluating available evidence and providing detailed accounts of women who have been beaten in marriage to explode the victim-blaming myths and uni-causal explanations of wife battering. Secondly, a multi-causal theory has been proposed which examines the phenomenon of wife battering from a socio-historical perspective. This model traces the traditional, patriarchal, and legal and religious precedents of wife battering to demonstrate how cultural and normative prescriptions maintain and facilitate the subordination of women in marriage and perpetuate the use of violence toward them.

To elucidate the tenets of this perspective an overview of the historical research and a review of the major theorists will be presented. This will be followed by an examination of the current attitudes and responses of specific institutions toward the problem of wife abuse.

Historical Precedents

The historical research and documentation available (Davidson, 1977, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1978, 1979; MacLeod, 1980; D. Martin, 1976, 1978; May, 1978) has shown that, since the Roman and Greek eras, legal, religious and cultural sanctions have existed which recognized the rights of husbands to beat or even kill their wives. For example, The Old Testament contains many passages that designated women as culturally legitimate objects of scorn and mistreatment. Examining the early Christian teachings, Davidson (1978) has outlined the decrees that were put forward that made women subject to men and described the punishments, for example, mutilation, beatings with a stick, and stonings, they received if they disobeyed patriarchal authority.

The disdain of the Christian world and, in particular, the Roman Catholic Church toward women had reached such proportions by the middle ages that Van Stolk (1976) wrote:

> Men were exhorted from the pulpit to beat their wives and wives to kiss the rod that beat them. The deliberate teaching of domestic violence, combined with the doctrine that women . . . by nature could have no human rights had taken such hold that men had come to treat their wives . . . worse than their beasts. (p. 129)

Throughout the eighteenth century, laws continued to be enacted which recognized a husband's marital right to control and chastise his wife through the use of physical force. However, concurrently, the types of misdemeanors and the corresponding punishments allowed by law began to be restricted. For example, Dobash and Dobash (1978) have pointed out that, in France, the community set norms for husbands to chastise their wives for opposing dependence, attempting to retain control of property, and suspected infidelity. Conforming to the rules of legitimate punishment, chastisement was restricted to blows, kicks, punches, or thumps on the back. As English Common-Law changed to civil law, new statutes were introduced which limited a husband's power over his wife to a severe beating with whips or clubs for certain misdemeanors, while practicing moderate correction for other lesser offenses (Dobash & Dobash, 1978).

In examining late Victorian legislation and changing attitudes to family violence in England, May (1978) has claimed that early industrial England socially and economically reinforced an autocratic patriarchal family structure. This pattern of family government was seen as one guarantee of domestic harmony wherein both wife and child retained the chattel status in return for being provided the necessities of life by the husband. Belief in a husband's right to chastise his wife, or even sell her on the open market, continued well into the middle of the nineteenth century in Britain and was supported by the popular street literature of the period and an implicit tolerance of violence among the lower classes (May, 1978).

As in Britain, the early American colonies sustained European attitudes toward women and incorporated English doctrines into their own laws. According to Calvert (1974), Mississippi recognized the right of a husband to chastise his wife but only as long as he used a "whip or rattan no bigger than his thumb" (p. 88). Other states soon followed in adopting "the rule of thumb" until 1874 when this right was outlawed. However, Calvert has pointed out that this decree was qualified by a statement which ruled that no cases would be heard unless permanent injury had been inflicted. If not, the court preferred to "draw the curtain, shut out the public gaze and leave the parties to forget and forgive" (p. 89). It is interesting to note that even today some courts in the United States rely on the precedent of permanent injury to define the guilt of a husband in wife battering cases (Davidson, 1977).

In seeking a socio-historical explanation, Dobash and Dobash (1978) have maintained that although domestic chastisement is no longer legal, most of the ideologies and social arrangements which formed the underpinnings of violence still exist today. Commenting on the patriarchal legacies, these authors wrote:

> It is in the institution of the family that the patriarchal legacy persists through the continuation of the hierarchical relationship between men and women. Male authority is still, regardless of the so-called liberation of women, revered and protected by social institutions and reinforced and perpetuated through the socialization of children . . . . Women, although no longer the legitimate victims of marital violence are still the "appropriate" victims. (p. 432)

To support this tenet, Dobash and Dobash conducted interviews with over 100 battered women to determine the factors associated with the emergence and continuation of violence in a battering relationship. They established that the major sources of contention centered around the real or perceived challenges to the man's possession, authority, and control in the family. Similarly, a survey conducted by Whitehurst (1974) showed that threats of violence were frequent among husbands as a means of controlling wives and maintaining self esteem.

MacLeod (1980) has claimed that traditional beliefs about what is proper and acceptable behavior within the family have tended to covertly condone wife beating and, in the process, infiltrated and shaped attitudes and practices toward marital abuse. MacLeod stated that the roots of wife battering are nourished by: "the acceptance of the husband's total authority in the family, the belief that the wife's proper place is to obey . . ., the immunity of the family to the rules and laws which apply to the wider society, and the general societal condoning of wife battering within the privacy of the family home" (p. 28). She concluded that wife battering should be viewed as an institutionalized means of control which is supported by a system that allows differential authority and rewards based on sex. Support for this view has been offered by Lester (1980) who, in a cross-cultural study of wife abuse, found that wife beating was most common in societies where the status of women was rated as inferior.

Sociologists (Gelles, 1972, 1978; Straus, 1973, 1978) have also supported this perspective. These authors have maintained that there are cultural norms which legitimize the use of violence between marital partners. Gathering data from interview studies with violent families, Straus (1978) concluded that, by in large, marriage licences are implicitly viewed and tolerated as hitting licences.

Perhaps the most direct evidence to support this conclusion is to be found in a survey conducted by Stark and McEnvoy (1970) for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. This study revealed that one out of four Americans approved of hitting a spouse on appropriate occasions. Straus (1978) also cited an unpublished study which showed that when subjects were presented with identical descriptions of an assault by a man on a woman, those who were told the couple were married recommended much less severe punishment. Borofsky, Stollack and Messe (1971) produced similar results in a study of bystander reactions to physical assault. Setting up mock fights between men and women on the street, they found that male witnesses went to the aid of men being attacked by other men or women, and women being attacked by other females. However, when women were being beaten by men, witnesses usually did not intervene.

In summary, the preceeding section has presented the phenomenon of wife beating from a feminist-historical perspective and in doing so, has stressed that this behavior has been legally, culturally, and ideologically condoned for centuries. Various writers, in proposing a theory of causation, have examined traditional, patriarchal and religious beliefs in an attempt to demonstrate how remnants of these cultural and normative prescriptions still maintain and facilitate the subordination of women in marriage and perpetuate the use of violence toward them. The feminist perspective gathers additional support from a closer investigation of the contemporary attitudes toward wife battering as reflected by the criminal justice system and helping professionals' network.

Current Attitudes and Responses

Police response. Epstein (1978) has estimated that calls of a domestic nature comprise the greatest majority of any category of calls to the police. However, severe criticism has been levied (Blair, 1979; Epstein, 1978; Gingold, 1976; D. Martin, 1976, 1978, 1979; Paterson, 1979; Roy, 1977b) at police departments throughout North America for adhering to a policy which views domestic violence as a family matter rather than as criminal conduct. Subsequently, as Paterson (1979) has pointed out, battered women rarely receive the type of help that would be accorded an individual assaulted by a stranger.

Generally speaking, many departments have exercised a non-arrest policy in domestic dispute cases and defined their role as one of mediation and peacemaking (Epstein, 1978; D. Martin, 1978). For example, Gingold (1976) has cited the training bulletin of the International Association of Chiefs of Police as stating:

> Most family disputes are personal matters requiring no direct action. Once inside the home the officer's sole purpose is to preserve the peace . . ., attempt to soothe feelings, and pacify parties . . . The power of arrest should be exercised as a last resort. (p. 54)

While statistics have shown (Bard, 1974) that domestic disputes are among the most dangerous for policemen and that these tactics tend to reduce the injuries incurred, their protective value to the abused wife has been questioned.

In their analysis of police response to battered women, Epstein (1978) and Martin (1978) noted that a non-arrest policy may often be justified on the basis that women plantiffs often refuse to lay charges, or drop charges against their husbands. At the same time, these authors found that training manuals suggested that when one of the parties demanded arrest, the officer should explain the negative ramifications and encourage the parties to reason. D. Martin (1978) has summarized the situation:

> Implicit in these guidelines is the refusal of police to take wife beating seriously . . . It is hard to imagine any other situation in which police would be officially advised to encourage a victim to "reason" with an attacker. Furthermore, encouraging victims to refrain from exercising their rights is in effect denying them their rights . . . Police are prone to point out that if her husband is taken to the station he will be out in a few hours on bail and probably return. Additionally she is reminded of her dependence upon her husband's paycheck . . . Some women fearing for their lives and faced with the realization that the system offers them no physical or economic protection, renege . . . By doing so they give law enforcers the excuse "They won't follow through," for placing a low priority on cases of marital violence. (p. 117)

Straus (1977) and Langley and Levy (1977) have held the view that policemen give implicit approval to the wife beater. They contended that policemen maintain two beliefs which foster this approval. First, that wife beating is legally permissable as long as hospitalization is not required, and secondly, that the rights of a husband to the privacy of his home should be respected. Straus (1977) reported that these attitudes manifest themselves most clearly in the approach to the assault. If the wife is fearful, she is asked to leave because it is assumed to be her husband's house. Fleming (1979) has quoted Commander Bannon of the Detroit Police Department as affirming the above view:

> Police response to social conflict, particularly, domestic social conflict, is intertwined with notions of the home and . . . with traditional conceptions of male-female roles. There appears wider acceptance of the idea that a little corporal punishment to the recalcitrant wife is not all that deviant. (pp. 171-172)

As seen from a feminist perspective, the failure of law enforcement agencies to treat wife battering as a crime is a discriminatory action which propagates the ideology of female inequality and dependency in marriage. Additionally, feminists have emphasized that the attitudes which support a non-arrest policy condone a husband's violence and contribute to the perpetuation of violence within the sanctity of the home.

Legal response. Critiques on the legal options available to victims of marital abuse (Field & Field, 1973; Langley & Levy, 1977; MacLeod, 1980; D. Martin, 1976; Paterson, 1979) have unanimously concluded that legal protection for the battered woman is ineffective. These studies have provided a number of similar findings and viewpoints in their analysis of both the Canadian and American judicial systems. These findings are summarized:

1. Selective and arbitrary enforcement of the law was described as common in domestic dispute cases.

2. Judges were found to view domestic dispute cases as non-criminal matters and support their decisions based on the values of the sanctity of the marriage and the preservation of the family unit.

3. Sentencing of battering husbands on assault charges in criminal court, or for breaking the conditions set down by civil orders, were reported as lenient and most often involved the following sanctions: an admonitory lecture, small fines, probation, conditional discharge, or referral to counselling services. Secondly, police enforcement of civil orders was identified as inconsistent.

4. In an overwhelming majority of cases, battered women were found to drop criminal charges against their husbands. A number of factors were cited as encouraging this response. Firstly, policemen were found to discourage women from laying charges. Secondly, Canadian crown attorneys and American district attorneys were reluctant to get involved. The reasons most often given were that attorneys viewed these cases as non-criminal matters, that victims usually did not follow through, and that conviction from a judge was unlikely. Subsequently, attorneys were viewed as passing these attitudes on to the battered woman and perpetuating the process which justified nonresponse. Finally, battered women were often found to fall prey to their batterer's intimidations of threats of even more serious

violence if charges were not dropped.

MacLeod (1980), in a review of legal procedures embodied under both provincial and federal authority in Canada, has further elaborated on the failure of the legal system to offer protection to battered wives. She has pointed out that a charge under the Criminal Code requires a third party witness of the crime and disallows evidence of similar acts of assault in the past to be considered if the husband goes to trial. Alternative legal procedures also have their drawbacks according to MacLeod. Peace bonds do not remove the husband from the home and an injunction can only be applied for if it is accompanied by an application for divorce. A third option, the ex parte interim order, while taking force immediately, only applies until the husband is taken to court and is seldom recommended by lawyers or police. MacLeod (1980), has concluded:

> The options open to the battered wife under both federal and provincial laws do not effectively protect her. The delays and frustrations involved in any attempt both to meet the stipulations for proof and to demand legal rights wear most women down and reinforce their feelings of powerlessness and isolation, for where a violent husband contests either the civil or criminal actions brought against him, his wife's right not to be beaten will be measured against the competing values of the sanctity of matrimony. (p. 46)

From a feminist perspective, analysis of the legal response to battered women further reflects society's position that battering behavior is a private matter and, as such, is acceptable. Although men no longer have the legal right to beat their wives, weak sentencing has been viewed as an outgrowth of the historical precedents which supported a husband's power over his wife. The failure of the legal system, feminists have argued, serves to reinforce a husband's belief that he has committed no crime, while entrenching the discriminatory practise of unequal protection under the law, and intensifying a wife's feelings of helplessness.

Helping professionals' response. Straus (1977) and Ball (1977) have pointed out that, traditionally, helping professionals attempted to diagnose and treat victims of marital abuse according to a model which focused on aggressive drives and sado-masochistic practices. Only recently, as Higgins (1978) reported, has an emphasis been placed on the unhealthy aspects of the relationship. However, D. Martin (1976) has argued that service agencies remain conservative and sexist in their treatment of the problem by accepting prevalent patriarchal myths.

Nichols (1976), in an analysis of family caseworkers, found that most of these professionals were still philosophically linked to the preservation of family life and were reticent to become advocates for abused wives. Nichols observed that many social workers still view the male's role as head of the family and wage earner as crucial to the family's well-being while failing to consider that the male's role may also be related to its misery.

The major criticisms of the social service network and helping professionals' response toward marital abuse have dealt with counselling and treatment approaches. Walker's (1979b) interview study found that many psychotherapists from a wide variety of disciplines did not realize that their clients were being beaten over long periods of time. Of those women who reported abuse to their therapists, the therapeutic approach most often identified was one of focusing on the psychological consequences of the aftermath, and did not deal specifically, in any way, with acute battering incidents.

Walker (1979b), Nichols (1976) and Fleming (1979) have documented that therapists, counsellors, and caseworkers often reflect the attitude that the wife's behavior is dysfunctional and believe that women often provoke their assault. Because most batterers refuse to come for counselling (Higgins, 1978), women are seen alone and the focus of therapy becomes how their behavior has contributed to the violence and how it might be changed to prevent further attack. Fleming (1979) has written:

> Although this approach might be seen as a means of assisting women . . ., implicitly it assumes several things that are part of the ideology that actually supports and rationalizes her assault. First, by counseling her, . . . the problem is tacitly assumed to be hers . . . . The search for provocation is the implicit acceptance of the idea that a man has the right to beat his wife if the circumstances warrant it. This approach serves to reinforce the abuser rather than help the woman. (p. 96)

In Walker's (1979b) sample many battered women reported that they were treated as mentally ill. Some were involuntarily institutionalized and diagnosis included paranoid schizophrenia, depression, and personality disorder. As Walker maintained, this often occurred because helping professionals did not consider the environmental situation as serious, and developed the idea that battered women choose to be battered because of personality defect.

Walker (1979b) has also criticized couple-therapy and pointed out that therapists are not aware that few of the traditional techniques of couple-therapy apply to battering couples. Teaching couples how to fight fair (Bach, 1974) and encouraging the survival of the relationship while subordinating individual needs, does little to change a marriage of hostile impact. Walker has claimed that, while couple-therapy can in some cases reduce the severity of battering incidents, it has not been proven to be effective in eliminating battering behavior.

In summary, the traditionally oriented responses of social service agencies and other helping professionals to the battered woman have been severely criticized. Attitudes which support the preservation of family life, which treat the wife's behavior as dysfunctional, and which fail to identify the seriousness of physical abuse, curtail battered women from receiving effective assistance. These attitudes, in turn, have been considered as reinforcing the victim-blaming myth and patriarchal ideologies which were discussed earlier. For these reasons, some writers (Ball & Wyman, 1978; Ridington, 1978; Walker, Note 4) have felt that the most successful approach to the treatment of wife abuse is a feminist therapy model. This approach to treatment separates the personal aspects of battering from the political, and is identified as bound by fewer stereotypes and values which maintain the status quo.

Sociological Theories

Four basic sociocultural perspectives have been presented in the literature that attempt to account for individual violence and the interdynamics of family violence. Family analysts have examined structural, functional, and sociopsychological variables as well as subcultures and social systems. The leading sociologists in the field, Gelles, Straus, and Steinmetz, have investigated familial violence from a number of these perspectives and are conducting ongoing research which examines the parallels between all types of physical abuse within the family context. Therefore, a sociological examination of wife battering per se is at times subsumed under other forms of intrafamily violence.

Culture - of - Violence Theory

The basic proposition of this theory holds that violence is unevenly distributed in the social structure. Wolfgang (1978) has put forth the thesis that there exists a subculture of violence. He has proposed that, among certain groups, there exist cultural norms and values which support violent behavior and accept it as normative. These proviolent norms and attitudes, in turn, are held among groups in the lower social strata. The family is seen as a training ground for violence since it is the major unit that transmits the subculture. Through socialization into the subculture's value system, family members learn that violence toward spouses and children is legitimate. Thus, a husband is expected to use force and violence on his family.

This theory has received a great deal of criticism. Steinmetz and Straus (1974), in an early review of the studies on social class differences, concluded that the evidence to support this theory was mixed. However, later reviews (Gelles, 1978; Marsden, 1978) have taken issue with the composition of samples used in these studies. Deriving class differences on the basis of police, shelter, and divorce statistics has been found to present a bias. Marsden (1978) has pointed out that lower class families are more likely to be over-represented in shelter programs and police files because they lack informal resources and contacts. Middle class families, however, have better access to matrimonial relief through the law, greater earning power, and alternative sources of accommodation.

Generally, sociologists have agreed that family violence crosses all classes and that the culture-of-violence theory, as a single factor model, is insufficient to explain the occurrence of violence in the family.

Structural Theory

The structural approach to family violence has also maintained the proposition that violence is more common among those occupying the lower socio-economic positions. However, this does not come about because of the existence of a lower class culture of violence, but rather is due to complex structural factors that are unevenly distributed across the social structure (Dibble & Straus, 1980; Straus, 1979). These factors, such as stress and lack of financial and occupational resources, are believed to impinge more frequently on the lower and working classes (Steinmetz & Straus, 1974). The response to these frustrations and deprivations is to react with violence. As Gelles and Straus (1979) have outlined: "structuralists also maintain that this reaction is institutionalized through differential socialization which leads those reared in different segments of society to use different modes of dealing with stress and frustration" (p. 566). These differential learning experiences provide norms and values which legitimize the use of violence in the family according to these theorists.

Gelles (1972), in an early exploratory study of 80 families, found that marital violence was most common in families characterized by low education, low or medium occupational status, and low income. He concluded that violence was a product of a combination of frustrations and lack of resources and of the conflict that occurred when the husband did not have the skills to adequately perform the husband-provider role. Both Gelles (1972) and Steinmetz (1977) have argued that structural stress can produce frustration that precipitates expressive violence, or role expectations, which, when not fulfilled, may result in instrumental violence toward family members.

In a later epidemiological survey of over 2,000 families, Straus et al. (1980) reported similar results. They found that the factors which significantly related to family violence, and in particular marital violence, were low income, low occupational status, unemployment, number of children, and being a member of a racial minority. However, the expected relationship between educational attainment and marital abuse was not found.

Various researchers have taken issue with these results. D. Martin (1979) has suggested that these results could have been due to variations in reporting between lower class and middle class respondents. Walker (Note 3) has pointed out a major methodological pitfall in the above study by revealing that 38% of the control group had violent episodes which were previously unreported.

Straus et al. (1980) also examined interpersonal family stresses. Drawing up an eighteen problem checklist of the most common potential conflicts within the family, these authors noted that as the amount of conflict increased so did the amount of violence. The couples with the most conflict had a violence rate sixteen times higher than nonconflict couples. These results held irrespective of whether the couples used verbal reasoning and negotiation. Thus, the most violent couples were found to be high reasoning and high conflict couples. These results have been used to question conflict theory and the catharsis approach (Bach, 1974) to dealing with marital discord. Conflict theory advocates that partners need to face up to their differences and negotiate conflict and the catharsis approach recommends that aggression be discharged in verbal ways to avoid a build up of violent and destructive behavior. Straus et al. (1980) have claimed that their evidence disputes these tenets, and have concluded that ventilating aggression and verbal argument increase the liklihood of violent aggression occurring.

Another finding of significant importance is the high association between battering and pregnancy. Gelles (1975) and Straus et al. (1980), in their respective studies, have proposed that sexual frustration, family transition, changes in a wife's temperament, and fear of the unborn child are the central factors which contribute to men battering their wives during pregnancy. Again, they have viewed the stress of pregnancy as adding to an already high level of structural stress in these families.

A second set of tenets put forth by socio-structural theorists have been based on learning theory and role modeling. Owens and Straus (1975) have offered the following propositions:

> 1. The greater the presence of violence in the social structure during childhood the more the person learns to use violence
> 2. For any set of behaviors characteristic of a population, there will develop a normative counterpart that rationalizes and justifies that behavior. (p. 210)

To investigate the first proposition, these researchers examined the relationship of three aspects of exposure to violence in childhood, (observing violence, being a victim of violence, and committing violence), with approval of violence as an adult. Each of the three aspects of exposure were significantly correlated with approval of interpersonal violence. This relationship was consistently weaker for women as compared to men. Yet, measures of socio-economic status did not discernably affect the correlations. However, Dibble and Straus (1980), in their analysis of 2,000 couples, found that lower income husbands displayed a high consistency between their pro-violent attitudes and their consequent behavior or abuse of their wives. High income husbands' attitudes about spousal violence showed little relation to actual behavior.

Other studies (Coleman, Weinman, & Bartholomew, 1980; Carlson, 1977; Gayford, 1978; Gelles, 1972; Roy 1977a;) have consistently shown that a large majority of battering husbands have either witnessed parental violence or been a recipient of violence in childhood. The relationship between female socialization into violence and the propensity for becoming a victim of abuse in marriage, appears less clear. While research supports the social learning hypothesis of socio-structural theorists when examining the violent husband, the nature of the normative counterpart and effects of socio-economic factors appear to be in dispute.

Finally, Straus et al. (1980) also traced the learning process of violence through three generations of families. They noted strong correlations between the incidence of grandparental violence, subsequent marital violence and subsequent child abuse. They found the rate of abusive violence toward children by both mothers and fathers who had grown up in violent homes to be two to three times higher than for those parents who had grown up in nonviolent homes.

In summary, socio-structural theorists have proposed that there are numerous structural arrangements in society which produce inequities between classes of individuals. Individuals occupying certain structural positions suffer greater frustrations and deprivations, the result of which is to respond with violence. Secondly, they have posited that the greater the amount of violence in the social structure during childhood, the greater the likelihood that these experiences will provide models, norms, and values which legitimize the use of violence in adulthood. Violence as a problem-solving method learned in the family setting acts as the training ground for generations of abusive interaction.

Resource Theory

Goode's (1974) application of resource theory has presented a theoretical rationale that accounts for the occurrence of violence between intimates. In examining both socio-structural and interpersonal process variables, Goode has viewed the family as one of many social systems that depends on force or the threat of force for its stability. In turn, force presents one of the major resources that underlies social stratification and functions to allow people to manipulate and bargain in interpersonal interactions. Therefore, Goode has put forth the hypothesis that violence is used as a resource when other resources are lacking. The greater the number of resources an individual can command, for example, prestige, money, power, the less likely the individual will use force in an overt manner. His final proposition is in keeping with the socio-structural theory of violence, that is, that differences in spousal abuse exist among social classes because of socialization and structural position differences.

O'Brien (1974) conducted a study incorporating some of Goode's ideas. Based on the assumption that the family is a social system in which patterns of dominance are determined by the categories of age and sex, O'Brien hypothesized that violence would be prevalent in those families in which a status inconsistency existed. Violent conflict was expected to occur when the husband failed to possess the superordinate resources on which his superior status was legitimately grounded. Where husbands were lacking in relation to their wives on the dimension of achieved status characteristics, wife battering was found to be prevalent. O'Brien concluded by stating that violence within the family was a reassertion of male dominance.

Systems Theory

Straus (1973, 1978) has accounted for continuing violence in the social interaction of the nuclear family by viewing the family as a goal seeking, purposive, adaptive system. Violence is treated as a systemic product, rather than a product of individual behavior pathology. In emphasizing a multivariate approach, Straus identified the elements of the social system, their interrelations and implications, as variables which contribute to the family's characteristics as a social unit. This model, in turn, has attempted to specify the positive feedback processes which produce an upward spiral of violence, the negative feedback processes which serve to maintain the level of violence within tolerable limits, and the processes which change the role structure of the family. Variables in this systems analysis have been partitioned into the classifications of antecedent, precipitating and consequent variables.

The antecedent variables cited include the family organization, position in social structure, values and beliefs, occupational roles, and societal level of violence. Consequent variables include results of violence for the members of the family and society as a whole. The consequences for children, Straus has viewed as developmental and related to sex role definitions, anxiety and aggressiveness. Consequences for the family include the implementation of a power structure and lack of marital satisfaction and parent-child solidarity. For society, the issue of violence as a means of social control becomes prominent.

Straus (1973, 1978) has also delimited a propositional theory which emphasizes the socialization of violence as a normative process. The use of physical punishment within the family and the stereotypes of violence presented by the mass media are viewed as providing powerful role models for children as to the usefulness and correctness of instrumental violence.

Thus, according to Straus, violence between family members arises from diverse causes, the occurrences of which are both multivariate and multideterminate in nature. The propositional theory, together with the variables outlined above, are offered by Straus as a heuristic tool for the generation of hypotheses. According to Stahly (1978) systems analysis has provided the most cogent analysis of violence in the family to be found in the literature of sociology. However, few empirical tests have been made to date.

Psychological Perspectives

Generally, the psychological literature on wife battering is sparse. The majority of studies have been descriptive in nature with the theses and propositions drawn from existing psychodynamic theories, clinical observation and case study material. Few studies have employed standardized measures, control groups, or statistical analyses.

Psychological perspectives, for purposes of presentation, have been roughly divided into two categories. The first concentrates its attention on the attitudes, behavior, and personality characteristics of the typical male abuser in an attempt to account for husband-wife violence. Personality typologies have, in large part, been drawn from battered women's descriptions of their mates. The second perspective has examined battered women as victims of their abusers. A number of psychological rationales and profiles have been presented to explain the process of victimization. The major focus in addressing the problem of battered women has dealt with women's psychological response to abuse and the identification of those factors which contribute to her becoming trapped in a violent relationship.

The Batterer

General profile. In investigations of the backgrounds of battering men (Ball, 1977; Bell, 1977; Coleman, 1980; Coleman et al., 1980; Fleming, 1979; Flynn, 1977; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Schultz, 1960; Walker 1979b, Note 2; Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5), there has been general agreement that, within his own family of orientation, he experienced physical abuse and/or witnessed parental violence, suffered from emotional deprivation, and grew up in a strict authoritarian household. In two empirically-controlled studies (Coleman et al., 1980; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981), the major variable that differentiated abusive husbands from nonabusive ones was a background of parental violence in their family of origin. According to Walker (1979b), the batterer's relationship with his own mother was most likely one of love, hate and ambivalence while Schultz (1960) found that mothers of abusers could be characterized as domineering, rejecting and aggressive. While some data (Coleman, 1980) has suggested that these men rarely participate in physical violence outside the family, other researchers (Gayford, 1978; Roy, 1977a; Walker, Note 3) have documented criminal histories for assault in nearly half of their subjects. Unemployment or a high level of job dissatisfaction has also marked the histories of many of these men (Dibble & Straus, 1980; Fleming, 1979; Gayford, 1978), although it is generally agreed that battering behavior cuts across all class, racial, ethnic, and socio-economic lines.

In terms of personality, the majority of battering husbands have been described (Fleming, 1979; Langley & Levy, 1977; Walker, 1979b, 1980; Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5) as emotionally dependent, immature, inadequate, and low in self-esteem. Poor impulse control, limited capacity for delayed reinforcement (Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5), and rigid, stereotypical sex role expectations toward marriage (Bell, 1977; Coleman, 1980; Elbow, 1977; Walker, Note 2) are also considered to characterize these men.

Many writers (Coleman, 1980; Elbow, 1977; Post, Willett, Franks, House, Back & Weissberg, 1980; Symonds, 1978; Walker, 1981, Note 2) have consistently pointed to the batterer's use of denial, rationalization, and projection of blame in denying responsibility for his own violent behavior. These husbands discount the severity, frequency, and impact of their abuse and do not believe that their behavior should have punitive consequences (Walker, Note 2). In Coleman's (1980) study, 55% of the men blamed their partner for provoking the violence. However, case analyses (Fleming, 1979; D. Martin, 1976; Walker, 1979b) have shown that there appears to be little relationship between what can be termed provocation and the predictability of battering incidents.

For example, as Dobash and Dobash (1978) found, any perceived challenge to the batterer's authority and control often resulted in violence. A late meal, an unironed shirt, a conversation with any man no matter how old or young, were all cited as justifications for these men to beat their wives.

Pathological jealousy, excessive possessiveness, and an obsessive need to have control over the wife, has also appeared as a consistent theme throughout the literature (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Elbow, 1977; D. Martin, 1976; Walker, 1979b, Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5). As Walker (1981) found, the batterer often holds the view that his partner is easily influenced by others and uses excessive vigilance so that his influence has priority. These men may impose severe economic restraints and social isolation combined with verbal harrassment and threat to insure that they are in control of all their wife's activities (Walker, 1979b). The batterer's extreme jealousy is often cited by women who report that their husbands were convinced they were having an extramarital affair, although in the vast majority of cases they were not (Gayford, 1978; Roy, 1977a; Thyfault, Note 6). Hilberman and Munson (1978), in their study, made the following observations:

> Morbid jealousy prevailed in . . . marriages with husbands making active and successful efforts to keep their wives ignorant and isolated. Leaving the house for any reason invariably resulted in accusations which culminated in assault . . . . Other channels . . . were also prevented. Friendships with women were discouraged . . . . and many husbands refused to allow their wives to work. (p. 461)

There also appears to be a strong relationship between wife battering and child abuse in the families of violent men. Estimates of the percentage of batterers that also abuse their children have ranged from 45% (Roy, 1977a) to 70% (Walker, 1979b). Foremost, however, has been the finding that a proportion of these men are also sexually abusive to their wives and children. Fifty-three percent of the batterers in Browne's (Note 1) study sexually or physically abused their female children. Thyfault (Note 6), in an analysis of 400 battered women, found that 59% of them had been raped by their husbands. In addition, Thyfault (Note 6) and Walker (1979b) reported that nearly 50% of these men can be described as displaying sexually deviant and bizarre behavior.

In summary, several consistent themes have been cited in the literature. Generally, a percentage of battering men display the following common characteristics: (a) a background of violence in their family of orientation, (b) emotional dependence, low self-esteem and rigid sex role expectations, (c) a defense structure that employs projection, rationalization and denial, (d) pathological jealousy and excessive possessiveness, and (e) physically and sexually abusive behavior that is directed at the wife or other family members.

Etiological formulations. A factor that has frequently been associated with battering is alcohol use by the husband (Coleman, 1981; Gayford, 1978; Gelles, 1972; Rosenbaum &

O'Leary, 1981; Pizzey, 1974; Snell, Rosenwald & Robey, 1964). In some cases alcoholism has been assessed as an immediate precipitant or concomitant of wife battering, however, it is generally recognized that the same pattern of behavior is seen in cases where alcohol is not a factor or when sobriety presides. Estimates of the percentage of abuse cases where alcohol is involved have ranged from 5% (Bard & Zacker, 1974) to 90% (Roy, 1977a). Roy (1977a) found that men with alcoholic problems were more likely to beat their wives at a higher frequency and commit more brutal assaults whether they were under the influence of alcohol at the time or not. According to Fleming (1979), alcohol is one of several factors that often contribute to the circumstances in which marital violence occurs. It is often used as an excuse for the abuse or to shift the blame for violence from the batterer to the effects of alcohol and thus serves much more as a trigger than a cause (Freeman, 1979).

Clinical descriptive studies that have attempted psychiatric diagnoses and presented pathological interpretations are in a distinct minority. Gayford (1978) and Pizzey (1974) have claimed that the battering husband, in most cases, is psychopathic. Walker (1979b) found that batterers in her sample were reported to have many kinds of personality disturbances including psychopathy. She found that one trait that the abuser did have in common with diagnosed psychopaths was his extraordinary ability to use charm as a manipulative technique and the dual personality, much like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, that was observed as he swung back and forth between being the model husband and the violent abuser. In a study of 23 battering husbands by Faulk (1977), 16 were found to have psychiatric disorders. Five were diagnosed as depressives, five as personality disorders or as suffering from delusional jealousy, two demonstrated a severe anxiety state, and two were diagnosed as brain injured.

Threat to dissolve the relationship on the part of the wife has been cited (Coleman, 1980; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Walker, 1981; Browne, Note 1; Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5) as resulting in psychiatric symptomology. Walker (1979b, 1981) and Hilberman and Munson (1978) found that these men often decompensated under stress and became psychotic or paranoid when their wife threatened to leave them. At the point of separation they were also at risk for attempting suicide or homicide. In Coleman's (1980) study, 10% of the men attempted suicide after marital separation, whereas Browne (Note 1) documented that 50% of the batterers were reported to have threatened to commit suicide when faced with the possibility of losing their wives.

Psychodynamic interpretations have been formulated by some writers in an effort to provide individual etiological models of violent behavior and treatment alternatives to the abuser and his family. Schultz (1960), in an early study of wife assaulters, used a Freudian model to characterize these men as being in conflict between hostility toward their wives and dependency on them. Subsequently, when the husband sensed that his dependency gratification was being cut off, an overt attack on the frustrating object, his wife, would result. Similarly, Miller (1975) posited that violence occurs when an idealized partner fails or where the partner is identified as a symbol of repressed undesireable aspects of the individual's own personality. Such a phenomenon, Miller claimed, may lead to personality regression in the batterer and result in childlike and frequently aggressive responses.

According to Walker (1981), the abuser's aggressive behavior is merely a disguise for his inability to cope with stress in more constructive ways. Snell et al. (1964), Coleman (1980), Ball (1977) and Fleming (1979) have presented similar hypotheses in seeing violence erupting when the batterer can no longer defend himself from a sense of inadequacy. Ultimately, violence serves to assure him that he is strong and in control and releases the anxiety that is tied to a feeling of inadequacy.

Elbow (1977) categorized abusers into four major personality types: the controller, defender, approval seeker, and incorporator. She differentiated each type on the basis of the batterer's emotional need and the significance of his mate in fulfilling the need and maintaining homeostasis in the marriage. The controller, Elbow has described as displaying unyielding control of his wife's activities. Violence in these relationships often occurred when the batterer felt he could no longer dominate or when his authority was questioned. The defender, depending on his mate to cling to him so that he can feel strong and adequate, has a need to rescue his wife and be her protector. Any sign of personal power on his mate's part ultimately erupts into violence. Elbow defined the approval seeker as the type of abuser whose self-esteem is contingent upon the acceptance of his mate. Violence took place between these couples when the wife engaged in a verbal confrontation. Finally, the incorporator, characterized by his feelings of desperation which stem from his need to incorporate the ego of another, is the type of batterer, according to Elbow, who is highly violent and most likely to be abusive toward his children.

Symonds (1978) has also posited three personality typologies of batterers based on clinical observation. The ego-syntonic abuser is described as impulsive, explosive and immature and displays a history of early and prolonged exposure to family violence. His wife and children are seen as merely objects for his displacement of life's frustrations. Alcohol and child abuse are frequently associated with this type of man. The second type, Symonds labelled as the Jekyll and Hyde personality. These husbands are highly anxious, guilt ridden and dependent. Their aggression is usually released through alcohol or self-effacing resentment. Finally, the arrogant-vindictive character is described by Symonds as a man who is overly controlled, preoccupied with the struggle for power and compulsively hostile. Violence is expressed by cruel and sadistic behavior toward the marital partner.

It would appear that both Elbow's and Symond's psychodynamic formulations correspond quite closely. Conceptual frameworks such as these are representative of the level at which psychological investigations have been made. There appears to be some consensus as to the major personality characteristics displayed by battering men, which can be viewed as one etiological dimension when seeking a multidimensional explanation for the causes of wife battering.

The Battered Woman

General profile. The psychological profile of the battered woman has been characterized throughout the literature by descriptions of her coping responses to the violence in her life and the psychological symptoms which incur due to living with a violent mate. Socialization history and demographic characteristics have also been documented.

There has been general disagreement as to whether the majority of battered women grew up in families where they observed or were the victims of violence. In testing the principles of learning theory, Gelles (1976) found that while 46% of the 54 women in his sample, who never witnessed violence in their family, became battered women, 66% of those that had witnessed early violence grew up and became victims. Gelles also found that a woman's background of child abuse was also correlated with her becoming involved in a violent marriage. A large majority of studies, however, have not found significant proportions of battered women with this type of history. Thyfault (Note 6) found that only 16% of the respondents in her study had been physically abused, while Walker (1978b), from case material, placed this figure at 25%. MacLeod (1980), from shelter statistics, found that 36% had been beaten as children. Estimates of the number of battered women that witnessed their fathers abuse their mothers have ranged from 23% (Gayford, 1978) to 33% (Carlson, 1977). Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981), in a controlled study, reported that abused wives could not be differentiated from nonabused wives on the basis of family background of violence. However, Thyfault (Note 6), in an interview study, found that 48% of the battered women had been victims of childhood sexual abuse and, based on these statistics, posited that many battered women may have internalized a prior victim role.

Walker (1978b, 1979a), reporting on 120 women, established that at least 75% of them could be described as having had a benign paternalistic dresden-doll type of upbringing which was marked by very traditional sex-role socialization. Ball and Wyman (1978) have similarly characterized the background of the battered woman as one of over-socialization into a stereotypical feminine role. In addition, the vast majority of battered women in Rounsaville, Lifton and Bieber's (1979) therapy sample were found to be the oldest child in their family and many had had much early responsibility as substitute mothers for younger siblings.

Throughout the literature, battered women have been consistently described (Abell & Jansen, 1980; Ball, 1977; Ball & Wyman, 1978; Bell, 1977; Carlson, 1977; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville et al., 1979; Walker, 1979a, 1981, Note 2, Note 4) as: low in self-esteem, socially isolated, emotionally and economically dependent, intensely fearful, guilt-ridden, helpless and passive. Their overwhelming passivity and inability to act on their own behalf (Hilberman & Munson, 1978) have been identified as covering much of the anger that these women cannot express directly for fear of precipitating battering incidents (Walker, 1981). Battered women have been found (Ball & Wyman, 1978; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Walker, 1981, Note 2) to consistently deny and repress the violence in their lives and to view themselves as personally responsible for the batterer's actions; displaying self-blame and guilt.

Hilberman and Munson (1978) have noted that the victim often uses a group of beliefs to explain the brutality. She tends to rationalize the violence by believing the batterer is sick or under stress, justifies by believing she deserved it, is bad, or provocative, and adheres to the belief that the violence is controllable if she is only good, quiet or compliant. Battered women often cling to the unrealistic hope that change is forthcoming (Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5) and often see the problem of being abused as a crisis that has no continuity with other aspects of the relationship (Rounsaville et al., 1979).

According to Walker (1981, Note 2, Note 3) these women develop survival skills rather than escape skills and attempt to manipulate the environment to please or protect the batterer and avoid some beatings. Although their goal is to create a stress free world, the distortion becomes apparent when they hold on to a belief that this is possible (Walker, 1981).

The low self-esteem that these victims experience, a universal finding, is maintained with each successive violent episode which leaves the woman with less hope and more fear (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Unsure of her own ego, the woman tends to define herself in terms of family and may gradually lose sight of personal boundaries for herself and her children (Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5). Poor sexual image has also been documented (Hilberman & Munson, 1978;

Walker, 1981; Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5) in many of these women and is thought to incur because of a perceived loss of body integrity due to physical violation, and, as discussed earlier, the high incidence of sexual abuse that occurs in these relationships.

Clinical studies (Gayford, 1978; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville & Weissman, 1978; Rounsaville et al., 1979; Walker, Note 3) that have attempted psychiatric diagnosis have consistently described these women as presenting a cluster of symptoms centering around anxiety, depression, hysteria and stress disorders. Rounsaville and Weissman (1978) found that 80% of their clinical sample reported depressive symptoms. A diagnostic assessment revealed that 52% of the women had notable symptoms of depression, 20% of which had levels of depression comparable to hospitalized patients. These researchers concluded that women were unable to take action in a battering relationship because of depressive illness.

Walker (Note 3) found that battered women scored significantly higher on a depression scale than the norm. However, while emotional, motivational and somatic symptoms reported were consistent with depression, the cognitive symptoms of pessimism about people in general were not.

Hilberman and Munson (1978) identified over 50% of the battered women referred to them for psychiatric evaluation as having evidenced prior psychological dysfunction. The majority had been treated intermittently or chronically with tranquilizers or antidepressants. A constellation of passivity, panic, intense fear of the unexpected, and violent nightmares was noted which, in the authors' opinion, reflected a constant struggle with the self to contain and control aggressive impulses. Hilberman and Munson also found that aggression in these women was consistently directed against themselves with suicidal behavior, depression and impaired self-imagery being the most common results. Price, Brennan and Williams (1980), in a study of hostility and aggression, found significant differences between battered wives and a control group, in total hostility, guilt, and paranoid hostility directed toward husbands.

Coleman et al. (1980) demonstrated that one of the key variables that identified battered wives from non-battered was frequent legal drug use which involved tranquilizers and antidepressants. Gayford (1978) similarly reported that 71% of the women in his study had been treated with legal drugs while 21% had been formerly treated for depression by a psychiatrist. Fifty percent reported suicidal attempts and Gayford found that women with unhappy home backgrounds in childhood were significantly more likely to attempt suicide.

In summary, there appears to be consistent agreement that a majority of battered women display the following personality characteristics: low self-esteem, dependency, adherence to traditional sex role stereotypes, self-blame, helplessness and passivity. A physically and/or sexually abusive childhood has also been documented by some researchers although there is little consensus if this type of history is the norm. Psychiatric symptoms centering around depression, hysteria, and psychophysiologic stress disorders have been reported. A high incidence of legal drug use for treatment of depression has been found in significant proportions of battered women.

Battered Women and Theories of Victimization

Two psychological theories of victimization have been proposed in specific reference to battered women. Both have addressed a rationale for why the battered woman becomes a victim and, most importantly, how the process of victimization further entraps her, resulting in psychological paralysis and inability to leave the relationship. Each theory has also provided a model with which to view the emotional and behavioral responses of battered women that have been described in the preceeding section.

Victim's reactions across traumas. Browne (Note 7) utilized Symond's (1979) basic propositions regarding the psychology of catastrophic events to integrate the disaster and crime literature on the psychological reactions of victims across traumas. According to Browne, abused women's reaction to a battering incident, rather than being specific to an intimate relationship, correspond more to the general reactions of victims across a broad continuum of events. She outlined three reaction phases: the impact phase, the inventory phase, and the recovery phase.

According to Browne, the impact phase, or point at which the threat of danger becomes a reality, is demarcated by the primary focus being on self-protection and survival. The experience of shock, denial, fear and reactions of withdrawal and confusion are common. The recipient may offer little resistance in an attempt to minimize the threat of injury. As Browne has described, "emotional reactions to becoming a victim of assault include: fear, anger, guilt, shame, a feeling of powerlessness or helplessness such as is experienced in early childhood, a sense of failure, and a sense of being contaminated or unworthy" (p. 2).

The inventory phase follows, during which some form of assessment and reorganization takes place. Browne has pointed out that in situations of helplessness, little anger may be shown during this phase. This is thought to be a measure of the victim's perception of the assaulter's power to retaliate. Fight or flight responses are inhibited by this perception and depression can result. In addition, a state of terror can result based on the perceived helplessness of the situation and victims may become ingratiating and appeasing in the hopes of saving themselves.

Finally, the recovery phase, Browne has outlined as the stage during which the psychological long-term effects of the trauma emerge. Victims may still exhibit a partial detachment from reality and a problem with depression and passivity. Fatigue and anxiety disorders may develop in relation to the trauma and be centered around the fear of a force that has been out of control. The self-esteem of victims of trauma is crucial to their full recovery. In reviewing various theories of trauma, Browne reported that during this phase various negative psychological effects have been documented: (a) victims may react in a regressive childlike fashion mitigating the threat by compliance, (b) memories of being helpless may lead to self-accusations of complicity and a sense of loss that generalizes to a perception of being a loser and manifests in expressions of inappropriate guilt and, (c) victims may blame themselves for the occurrence in an attempt to find an explanation for the inexplicable event and thus regain some perception of control.

Applying these concepts to battered women, Browne has predicted that such women would report higher levels of fear, anxiety and depression, exhibit similar post-impact reactions of withdrawal, marked by resistance to seeking outside help due to the perception of danger and impaired functioning, and assign a high degree of self-blame and guilt for the incidents.

Browne's (Note 7) own descriptive and retrospective study has affirmed these predictions, as have the clinical observations and descriptions of the general psychological characteristics of battered women throughout the literature. Foremost, Browne's model has attempted to provide some insight into the psychological dynamics that emerge and serve to bind the battered woman to her batterer.

Battering and learned helplessness. By far, the vast majority of theoretical formulations, survey, and descriptive studies in the area of battered women have been developed by Walker (1978a, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, Note 2, Note 3). Walker has sought to find links between Seligman's (1975) concept of learned helplessness and battered women's response to violence.

The phenomenon concerned with noncontingent early reinforcement and subsequent passive behavior due to motivational deficits is called learned helplessness. Seligman (1975), in summarizing the results of earlier research, demonstrated an interference with shuttle box escape-avoidance behavior of dogs given inescapable electric shock. Seligman hypothesized that dogs given inescapable shock failed to escape later because they had learned that shock termination was independent of responding. This learning was thought to interfere with the acquisition of escape because incentive for initiating responses had been lowered and the ability to associate responding and shock had been impaired. Learned helplessness was used as the descriptive label for this phenomenon and also as the hypothesized process by which learning of independence between responding and reinforcement interferes with future responding. This phenomenon has also been demonstrated in the human laboratory (Hiroto, 1974; Seligman, 1975) where it was also found that experience with inescapable aversive events caused interference with later learning as motivation was lowered, the ability to perceive success undermined, and emotionality heightened when subjects experienced the helplessness phenomenon. Learned helplessness has also been proposed as one model to account for exogenous depression in people (Miller & Seligman, 1975; Seligman, 1975).

Walker (1978b) has described this social learning theory:

> The learned helplessness theory has three basic components: information about what should happen (or the contingency); cognitive representation about the contingency (learning, expectation, belief, perception); and behavior. The faulty expectation that how someone will respond will have no effect on what happens occurs in the cognitive representation. This is the point at which cognitive, motivational, and emotional disturbances originate . . . . It is also important to accept that the expectation of powerlessness may or may not be accurate. Thus, if the person does have control over response-outcome variables but believes such control is not possible, then the person responds accordingly with the learned helplessness phenomenon . . . . The actual nature of controllability is not as important as the belief, expectation or cognitive set. (p. 528)

Walker has argued that this concept is paramount in understanding why women do not attempt to gain their freedom from the battering relationship. Battered women do not believe they can escape from the batterer's domination. Even though their perceptions may be accurate, the perceptions need not be for the theory to work. The women often do not accept an outsiders assistance because they do not believe it will be effective. According to Walker, they view the batterer as all powerful and their cognitive set tells them no one can help.

Walker (Note 2), in a later article, claimed that those women who meet up with a batterer may have the process of helplessness set off by the nature of the aversive outcome of love and violence together. While the helplessness theory may help to explain the paralysis, the lowered rate of escape responses, the cognitive deficits, and the emotional changes in battered women, maintenance of the relationship despite the violence requires explanations beyond the learned helplessness response.

Walker (1978b, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, Note 2) has isolated a phase cycle theory of violence from her studies which also helps to explain how battered women become victimized, fall into helplessness behavior and do not attempt to escape. Variable intermittent reinforcement appears as a factor during the third phase of this cycle. Walker (Note 2) has written:

> The first phase is one where tension builds and minor battering incidents occur. The woman accepts his abuse directed at her in the hopes of averting another acute battering incident, the explosive second phase of the cycle . . . She has minimal control of the outcome . . . and eventually he lashes out.

> Following this acute battering incident the batterer becomes sorry and frightened that his behavior might cause him to lose her. He becomes kind and loving, often contrite, and tries to make it up to her by showering her with gifts. Sometimes he may threaten to commit suicide or his mental health status may be viewed as precarious, both likely outcomes if the woman does not quickly forgive and forget. This phase may last for awhile but soon minor incidents begin to occur, tension builds and the cycle starts over. (p. 13)

Walker has maintained that it is in the third phase of this cycle that the battered woman's victimization becomes complete. This phase provides the victim with reinforcement for staying in the relationship. The woman usually remains with the hope that the other two phases can be eliminated, the battering behavior will cease and the idealized relationship will remain. All of the rewards of being married emerge during phase three and it is during this period when it is most difficult for the woman to end the relationship.

In summary, Walker's application of the concept of learned helplessness and the learning principles of variable intermittent reinforcement to battered women, has provided a psychological model which attempts to account for the process of victimization that occurs and the factors that perpetuate the victim status of these women in violent relationships. Walker has also hypothesized a number of personality characteristics that may incur or support a woman's feelings of helplessness and deter her from being able to leave. These personality variables will be examined more closely in the following section.

Staying, Leaving and Returning

Researchers who study battered women have constantly struggled with the question: Why does she stay? Given the victimization theories reviewed above, perhaps one might well ask a different question: What gives some women the strength to leave? However, these twin questions can, to a large extent, miss the point in that they are based upon the assumption that women engage in only one behavior or the other. Most women have at some time left, sometimes with every intention of returning and sometimes intending to make a permanent break. Women in this latter category may succeed in terminating the relationship or may fail and return home. As Dobash and Dobash (1979) found in their study of 96 battered women, 88% did at one time leave after an assault, however, 75% of these women only spent anywhere from one day to a month away from their violent partners. Gayford (1978) found that 81% of battered women leave the home temporarily at some time.

Thus, in reviewing the literature pertinent to this study, consideration should be given to the action of temporarily leaving, in that, for all intents and purposes, it can be viewed as part of the pattern that emerges for women that stay with a battering mate.

Psychological factors. Continuing hope for reform and fear of retaliatory action are the two most consistent reasons cited in the literature to account for why women stay with a battering mate (Gayford, 1978; MacLeod, 1980; Moore, 1979; Van Stolk, 1976; Walker, 1979b). Moore (1979) documented that up to 50% of these men have sought out and continued to beat their wives after a formal separation. Leaving after an assault can also often result in what has been described as phase three of the battering cycle (Walker, 1979b), that is, where the batterer pursues the woman, apologizes, reaffirms his affection, and promises never to abuse her again. This hope for reform is continually reinforced.

Rounsaville et al. (1979) cited three psychological factors which, they argued, were primary in contributing to a woman's unwillingness to leave: (a) women do not act because they are suffering from a clinically significant depressive illness, (b) social isolation imposed by the man is maintained by the woman's fear of social stigmatization which heightens both depression and the unwillingness to leave, and (c) women see themselves as forced to remain out of concern for a sick and helpless abusive partner.

Waites (1978) has proposed that female motivation be examined in the context of external constraints, actual choices available, and the consequences of particular choices. Accordingly, Waites has proposed that the negative consequences of staying are weighed against the negative consequences of leaving and that the following incentives are relevant to the wife's decision:

1. Identity versus identity loss is implicated in that the role of wife is likely to remain a cornerstone of identity for battered women. To the extent that authoritarian attitudes are a concomitant of traditional feminine identity, any autonomously assertive act will threaten the submissive wife with identity loss.

2. Social approval versus stigmatization involves the notions of divorce, singleness, the broken home, and the idea that those who suffer must be at fault. Battered women are faced with the choice of social stigmatization, which can be prevented, or the social approval of marriage.

3. Love versus loss of attachment is also present as a dichotomy. Battered women purport to love their husbands inspite of the abuse not because of it. Love can be used as a rationalization for remaining in the relationship.

Ridington (1978), in describing Vancouver transition house residents, similarly commented on the identity issues that emerge when battered women attempt to make a decision. Ridington has observed that over the years of abuse women acquire a degraded self-image. Termination of the marital relationship usually increases feelings of failure and may seem to confirm these negative definitions. According to Ridington, women who are defined by others and themselves as homemakers feel primary responsibility for keeping the home together and a greater responsibility and sense of failure when it comes apart. Loss of the marital relationship involves loss of primary identity and contributes to a loss of sense of self.

Many other authors (Ball & Wyman, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; D. Martin, 1976; Moore, 1979; Truninger, 1971; Waites, 1978; Walker, 1978b, 1981) have also emphasized that failure to live up to sex role stereotypes and a low self-esteem or negative self-concept appear as primary factors which may perpetuate a woman's inability to leave an abusing situation. Fearful dependence and passivity (Bell, 1977; D. Martin, 1976) are also thought to contribute to lowered self-esteem and inability to act. In a Vancouver study of shelter residents, Gropper and Currie (1976) found that success in the transition process appeared to depend on a woman's own motivation or will-to succeed which came from a personal sense of confidence, self-esteem, and belief in one's worth. Successful women, those who felt positive about changes and had taken concrete action to consolidate their future, mentioned low self-esteem less often than unsuccessful women. Walker (1978b, 1979a) has argued that feelings of self-esteem and competence are extremely important in protecting against feelings of helplessness. Learned helplessness creates the belief that no responses are effective. If battered women are not motivated to attempt new behaviors and do not experience success and control, lowered self-esteem is the result.

Walker (1981) also pointed out that the battered woman's low self-concept is further reinforced by the sex role stereotypes that create expectations of how the woman should perform the role of wife. Walker has stated: "if a woman cannot live up to all the unrealistic but rigid traditions, she is more likely to believe the batterer's accusations and distortions of her failures" (p. 84). D. Martin (1976) and Dobash and Dobash (1979) have both cited sex role conditioning as a primary factor which affects a woman's decision to leave the battering relationship. Tied in closely to the previous discussion of the role of wife providing the cornerstone of identity, these researchers found that battered women were reluctant to leave because of their belief that the failure of the marriage represented their personal failure. Ingrained traditional ideas that the marriage should be kept together, and guilt for not living up to the nurturer role, both contribute to battered women staying with their batterer.

Gropper and Currie (1976) found that one factor that characterized successful women in the transition process was their ability to embrace rather than resist change in their primary role. All the successful women in their study felt either positive or neutral about women's rights. Walker (1978b), utilizing the learned helplessness model to formulate hypotheses about personality characteristics, has posited the following:

> Sex role socialization in childrearing can be responsible for inducing a faulty belief system which supports women's feelings of helplessness. It is hypothesized that those women who have the hardest time escaping . . . are subjected to a greater degree of traditional socialization patterns . . . . It is reasonable to expect that battered women will be ambivalent about the women's movement. Research is needed to measure the attitudes of battered women toward women in general. My preliminary data indicate that battered women value men's approval more than from other women. (pp. 528-530)

A final factor which has been implicated repeatedly by Walker (1978b, 1979b, 1981, Note 2), and discussed in depth earlier, is the proposition that the phenomenon of learned helplessness entraps women in a violent relationship and symbioticly binds them to their batterer. Walker (1979b) has also maintained that individuals who can be classified as having an external locus of control are those most likely to become victims of learned helplessness. The construct of internal-external locus of control, developed by Rotter (1966), refers to the extent to which a person perceives that reinforcements are contingent on their actions. Whereas internal individuals are those who perceive that an event is contingent upon their own response and attribute reinforcement contingencies to their own abilities, external individuals perceive outcomes as independent of their behavior and believe that outcomes are determined by extrinsic factors.

Thus, both learned helplessness and the internal-external construct utilize control of reinforcement as the crucial variable. Researchers in this area (Hiroto, 1974; Seligman, 1975) have suggested that externality may be the single process that underlies helplessness and the expectancy that responding and outcome are independent. Thus, Walker (1979b) has presented this psychological rationale as primary when attempting to explain why some battered women do not attempt to permanently leave an abusing mate.

In summary, some consistent themes from the psychological descriptive and theoretical literature have been found which point to specific factors which may affect a battered woman's response to abuse. Fear, hope for reform, low self-concept, depression, traditional sex role socialization, and learned helplessness have been cited as the variables which are related to, or affect, a woman's decision to stay with a battering partner.

Discussion. In reviewing the general psychological characteristics of battered women and attempting to examine those specific characteristics which may distinguish between battered women who stay with a battering partner and those who manage to leave, theories of victimization have been examined which view the personality characteristics of battered women and the clinical symptoms that have been observed, as developing in response to the violence in their lives.

On the one hand, descriptive and case materials have characterized these women as being low in self-esteem, overcome by feelings of powerlessness or helplessness, and as adhering to sex role stereotypes. On the other hand, these are the same characteristics that have been cited as entrapping a woman in a violent relationship and limiting her ability to leave the relationship. As such, the personality traits of these women have been designated by some writers as temporary rather than fixed traits in line with a social learning theoretical framework. However, cause and consequence are not this easily distinguished. In other words, it is difficult to distinguish, in the absence of longitudinal data, whether women with certain personality characteristics have a propensity for becoming victims, or whether observations of personality traits represent a temporary response to victimization. It appears that both of these propositions could hold true when employing Walker's learned helplessness framework.

If battered women do not believe that they have control over response-outcome contingency, motivation to attempt new behaviors and the ability to perceive success would be undermined. Feelings of powerlessness would ensue and each new battering incident would be expected to lower self concept as the woman faced her inability to control the situation. We would expect battered women to have a belief in external control, to believe that events that occur in life are caused by outside factors or under the control of powerful others rather than contingent upon their own behavior. In addition, sex role socialization in childhood could be viewed as predisposing or inducing a faulty belief system or expectation which supports a woman's feelings of helplessness.

Presently in the field, Walker's social learning model has been offered as the only theory with testable hypotheses available to explain why many battered women remain in a violent situation. Descriptive and case studies consistently point to and confirm the same personality characteristics being observed.

To date, psychological analysis has remained at the level of description and theoretical speculation. Empirical research has not attempted, systematically, to answer the question of whether battered women, based on these personality dimensions, can be distinguished from the populous at large. Secondly, empirical data has not been presented which attempts to explore if battered women who remain with a batterer can be distinguished from those who do not on the basis of these same characteristics. Thirdly, data to confirm theoretical formulations with testable hypotheses are also lacking. Consequently, models of therapeutic intervention have remained at the speculative stage.

This discussion of the psychological literature has raised a number of questions which will be addressed following a closer examination of the sociological factors that contribute to a battered woman's decision. For, as discussed earlier, a woman's decision to either leave or remain with an assaultive spouse has been found to be influenced by situational and environmental factors which interact with psychological constraints.

Sociological factors. Many writers in the field (Gelles, 1976, 1977; Gropper & Currie, 1976; MacLeod, 1980; Moore, 1979; Roy, 1977a; Truninger, 1971) are of the opinion that a combination of sociological and psychological variables account for the existence of the battered women's syndrome. Economic and educational resources, the presence of children, and external constraints are also reported to affect a woman's decision.

Truninger (1971) postulated that some of the reasons why women do not dissolve a violent relationship are due to the realities of: economic hardship, need for child support, and difficulties in getting work with dependent children. Roy (1977a), Moore (1979) and MacLeod (1980) have similarly cited financial problems based on unemployment, lack of money, and number of children as providing barriers which make women dependent on their partners and present them with little option but to remain in the violent home. As Moore (1979) has outlined, the data regarding women's financial dependency on men is overwhelming in both volume and impact. In North America, women have continued to make lower salaries in all fields and only 50% of divorced women receive alimony. Additionally, Moore found that only 38% of husbands ordered by the courts to pay child support do so in the first year after a divorce.

Four studies (Gelles, 1976; Gropper & Currie, 1976; Pfouts, 1978; Snell et al., 1964) have suggested that the presence of an adolescent child who becomes involved in the husband's abusive episodes may contribute to, or trigger, a woman leaving the violent home. In Gropper and Currie's (1976) study, 45% of the children being housed at a transition house were over seventeen, while Snell et al. (1964) found that the majority of battered women who sought court intervention reported their teenage child's involvement in the violence as compelling them to end the relationship.

Rounsaville and Weissman (1978) reported that five factors correlated significantly with leaving in their study: severity of abuse, type of abuse, fear, having called the police, and partner having beaten the children. Although 71% of the women in their sample stated they wanted to leave, only 32% did so.

In addition to the economic constraints that entrap a woman in an abusing relationship, some authors (Carlson, 1977; Gelles, 1976, 1977; D. Martin, 1976, 1978; 1979) have contended that the attitudes and actions of official agencies of social control serve as the primary factors which keep women with their violent mates. A thorough review of the attitudes and responses of official agencies toward battered women has been presented earlier and will therefore not be pursued here.

The only systematic study to date which has attempted to determine the socio-demographic factors which differentiate between battered wives who seek outside intervention and those who do not, is that of Gelles' (1976). Utilizing quantitative and qualitative data obtained from 80 interviews, and attempting to integrate previous descriptive research on family violence, Gelles assessed the effects of the following variables on a woman's decision to seek intervention or remain with a violent partner: severity and frequency of violence; experience with or exposure to violence in the woman's family of orientation; personal resources of the wife's which included education, occupation, number of children, and age of oldest child; and external constraint. Divorce or seperation, police assistance, and social agency support comprised the modes of intervention sought by these women.

Discussing each variable separately, Gelles found that the more severe and frequent the violence, the more likely a wife was to seek intervention of some type. Secondly, women who had observed spousal violence in their family of orientation were more likely to become victims of conjugal violence in their family of procreation. In addition, the more frequently a woman was struck by her parents, the more likely she was to grow up and be struck by her husband. However, being a victim of parental violence had no bearing on the wife's decision to seek intervention, whereas women who observed or were exposed to parental violence were more likely to obtain outside intervention, the mode being separation or divorce. Gelles posited that exposure to conjugal violence during childhood may make women less tolerant of abuse and more motivated to end a violent marriage.

Gelles further hypothesized that the fewer resources a wife had in marriage the more reluctant she would be to seek outside intervention. The variable which best distinguished wives who obtained assistance from those who remained was employment. In addition, women who sought some type of intervention often had teenage children old enough to get embroiled in the conflict.

Employing a step-wise regression, Gelles analysis of the variables which affect the decision to either stay or leave yielded three significant factors: severity and frequency of violence; parental violence to respondent during childhood; and employment, completion of high school, and occupational skills. Gelles concluded that the fewer resources a woman has the less power, and the more entrapped she is in marriage.

In summary, a review of the sociological data has yielded some consistent findings. Economic dependency, number of children, lack of education and occupational skills, and the inefficacy of outside services all serve to keep a battered woman from leaving her violent partner. Violence directed at children and the presence of a teenage child in the home may also serve as motivating factors to leaving. One major study (Gelles, 1976), in attempting to empirically test the above observations in combination with social learning tenets, revealed that personal economic resources, history of child abuse, and severity and frequency of violence significantly influenced women seeking intervention.

Discussion. In examining Gelles' (1976) study, some major limitations are uncovered. The assumption that seeking intervention implies leaving the relationship is a false one. Although separation or divorce could be considered as striking out for independent living, contacting the police or a social service agency may well be part of the pattern of seeking a temporary release from the violence and indicative of the leaving and returning pattern that was discussed earlier. Of the women in Gelles's sample, only 9 had been divorced or separated from their husbands. The best predictor of this mode of intervention was violence severity, however, none of the multiple correlations were significant. Seeking intervention by calling the police revealed an opposite trend in that it was associated with less occupational status and lower education. The only variables which discriminated women going to a social service, were number of children, age of oldest child, and not being abused as a child.

Although Gelles' study is the only one which has attempted to integrate the descriptive sociological literature addressing the factors which affect a battered woman's decision, the critera used to designate leaving (seeking intervention), the small sample size, and the lack of follow-up data after intervention, have presented major drawbacks which limit the relevance of this study. Subsequently, to date, the sociological factors which have been posited as contributing to a woman's decision have not been adequately tested to see if they distinguish between women who leave and those who return to a battering mate.

Questions. This study was exploratory in nature and, from an examination and critique of the psychological and sociological literature, attempted to answer some of the following questions.

1. Can women who leave a battering relationship be distinguished from those who return on the basis of self concept as determined by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale?

(a) Can these two subcategories of women be distinguished by their scores which measure self concept according to an internal frame of reference, as determined by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale?

(b) Can these two subcatagories of battered women be distinguished by their scores which measure self concept according to an external frame of reference, as determined by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale?

2. Can these two subgroups of battered women be distinguished on the basis of: internality or externality, as measured by Rotter's I-E Scale; self-esteem, as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale; and sex role attitudes and expectations, as measured by the Attitudes Toward Women Scale?

3. Can battered women, independent of their decision to leave or return to an abusing partner, be distinguished from a sample of the normative population on the basis of their scores on the following personality dimensions: (a) self concept as it relates to an internal frame of reference, (b) self concept as it relates to an external frame of reference, and (c) internal-external locus of control, self-esteem, and sex role attitudes?

4. Can battered women who leave a battering relationship be distinguished from those who return on the basis of the following variables: number of children, age of oldest child, education, employment, frequency and severity of violence, observation of parental violence in childhood, and receipient of violence in childhood?

Hypotheses

1. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the

following set of internal self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: identity, self satisfaction, behavior.

2. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the following set of external self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: physical self, moral ethical self, personal self, family self, social self.

3. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the following set of measures: Rotter I-E scores, Tennessee Self Concept self-esteem scores, Attitudes Toward Women scores.

4. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on the following set of sociological measures: number of children, age of oldest child, education, employment, severity and frequency of violence, observation of parental violence in childhood, receipient of parental violence in childhood.

5. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the following set of internal self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: identity, self-satisfaction, behavior.

6. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the

following set of external self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: physical self, moral ethical self, personal self, family self, social self.

7. There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the following set of measures: Rotter I-E scores, Tennessee Self Concept self-esteem scores, Attitudes Toward Women scores.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Description of WIN House Population

WIN (Women in Need) house was established in Edmonton in 1978. It is a residential programme in which temporary accommodation, protection, and emotional support are provided to battered women with children. Women who are being beaten, or under the threat of violence, by a husband or common-law partner are admitted either as self-referals or may be sent to the shelter from any number of referral sources. According to an unpublished assessment report prepared by Dyck (Note 8), social workers make up the majority of referring agents followed by psychologists, lawyers, and physicians. Additionally, Dyck noted that approximately one out of three battered women seen by professionals are referred to WIN house.

During their stay at the shelter, women live in a communal setting, take part in house maintenance and meal preparations, and are personally responsible for the care of their own children. Legal, financial, housing, and counselling information and referral are made available to the women upon request.

Dyck's assessment of the services and clientele at WIN house revealed that, during the period from March, 1979 through May, 1980, the mean number of admissions per month was approximately 21. The mean number of requests per month during this period increased from 31 to 66. Subsequently, a large number of women are refused admission due to lack of space.

Of the battered women interviewed by Dyck who had resided at WIN house between March, 1979 and March, 1980, 94% reported that they were physically abused or threatened and 6% reported emotional abuse. Child abuse on the part of a husband or partner was revealed in 41% of the cases. The average length of stay was 12 days. Fifty percent of the women returned to their partner upon discharge. Dyck has cautioned that these figures may represent a biased sample and therefore may not be representative of the WIN house population in general.

Description of Sample

Of the 60 women who were in residence at WIN house between August 6, 1980 and January 12, 1981, 42 were administered and completed the questionnaire. Random selection was not employed due to the length of time it would have involved to select subjects given the residency rate, the predicted difficulties in reference to locating residents during follow-up, and the stress on the staff's time that would have been incurred with this type of organization.

The initial intent was to introduce the voluntary questionnaire (see Appendix A) to all women in residence from August 6, 1980 on until a minimum of 50 subjects was reached. However, some difficulties emerged in that it was not possible to approach all women. Over-night residence, acute psychological disturbance, language barriers, and oversights by the staff prevented solicitation in some cases. In addition, while 50 subjects agreed to participate, 3 did not complete the questionnaire fully enough to be used for data purposes, while 5 were unavailable for follow-up information. Consequently, a biased sample may have been obtained and representativeness of the sample to the population is unknown.

For the purposes of this study a battered woman was defined as a wife or cohabitee in residence at WIN house who had been subjected to physical violence, and/or the threat of physical violence, at the hands of her partner. No criteria as to the frequency of assault or degree of injury sustained was made.

Table 1 presents demographic data for the 42 battered women, or total group (group T), of respondents. From Table 1, the typical respondent was: in her late 20's, Caucasian, Protestant, married, and had been in her present relationship for approximately seven years. Women with two or three children, most likely of pre-school age, were common. Approximately 67% of the women had not completed high school. While 73.8% were not employed at the time of study, 52.4% indicated that they did have "some employable skills which would enable them to get a job" (see Appendix B). Women who were employed full-time comprised 16.7% of the sample.

A summary of the data obtained from group T in reference

TABLE 1

TOTAL GROUP

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Age: Mean 29.2 Range (19 - 47)

2. Marital status with present partner: Married 69.0%
   Common-law 31.0%

3. Length of relationship: Mean 7.2 Range (1 - 25)

4. Race: Caucasian 72.5% Native/Metis 22.5% Oriental 5.0%

5. Religion: Protestant 48.8% Catholic 43.9%
   No religious affiliation 7.3%

6. Number of children:
   None 0.0% One 21.4% Two 38.1%
   Three 26.2% Four or more 14.3%

7. Age of oldest child:
   less than two 9.5% two to five 40.5%
   six to nine 19.1% ten to thirteen 7.1%
   thirteen to sixteen 19.1% over sixteen 4.8%

8. Years of education completed:
   grades 6-9 23.8% grade 10 23.8% grade 11 19.0%
   Completed High School 14.3%
   Vocational or Technical Certificate 16.7%
   University Degree 0.0%
   Other combination of education after High School 2.4%

9. Current employment:
   Yes: 26.2% Part-time 9.5% No: 73.8% Employable skills?
   Full-time 16.7% Yes 52.4%
   Both 0.0% No 21.4%

to their husbands or partners is presented in Table 2. Five racial groups were reported with Caucasian comprising the largest majority. The socio-economic classes listed in Table 2 were those taken from Blishen and McRoberts (1976), A Revised Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada. Each class represents an interval of scores that were based on an equation of income, education, and prestige of the various male occupations in Canada. Thus, the classes portray a socio-economic rank ordering according to the occupations reported. From Table 2, husbands or partners of group T were unemployed in approximately 29% of the cases, while just over 52% were employed in occupations that were indicative of the lower socio-economic classes (classes I and II). Just over 69% of the total group of respondents revealed that abuse occurred most often while their husbands or partners were under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

Sample Groups

Two groups or subcategories of battered women were studied:

1. Those women who, after one month following their departure from WIN house, had returned to the family home and were residing with their husband or partner, were designated as having returned to, or as remaining in, the violent relationship (group 1).

2. Those women who, after one month following their departure from WIN house, had established alternative or

TABLE 2

TOTAL GROUP

HUSBAND/PARTNER'S DATA[a]

1. Race:
   Caucasian 70.0%
   Native/Metis 20.0%
   Oriental 5.0%
   East Indian 2.5%
   Negro 2.5%

2. Socio-economic Index by Occupation[b]:
   Unemployed 28.6%
   Class I 28.6%
   Class II 23.8%
   Class III 9.5%
   Class IV 7.1%
   Class V 2.4%
   Class VI 0.0%

3. Abuse most often occurring under the influence of alcohol or drugs:
   Yes 69.2%
   No 30.8%

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[a] As reported by respondents

[b] After Blishen and McRoberts (1976), p. 72.

independent living arrangements separate from their husband or partner, were designated as having left the violent relationship (group 2).

Recruitment and Procedure in Administration

Prior to involving WIN house clientele in the study, the director and staff involved were contacted and presented with a brief verbal description of the study. Following approval from the Board of Directors of WIN house, final permission to proceed was given.

The staff approached women individually, shortly after their arrival at WIN house, presenting the covering letter outlining the purposes of the study (see Appendix A) and inviting them to take part. Those volunteering were presented the questionnaire to complete on their own time. It was felt that the involvement of the writer in recruitment procedures could prove to be instrusive to some women, therefore, solicitation was left to the staff.

The order of presentation of the questions and research instruments within the questionnaire (see Appendix B) was as follows:

1. Information pertaining to personal background was requested.

2. Questions pertaining to the personal resources of women, for example, number of children, years of education, employment, etc., were presented. These were labelled as sociological variables in the study.

3. An index which attempted to record the severity and frequency of violence during the course of the relationship was outlined, followed by questions in reference to violence experienced in childhood. These were also representative of the variables labelled sociological.

4. Written instruction and self administration of Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control Scale.

5. Written instruction and self administration of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale.

6. Written instruction and self administration of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale.

On the day of departure from WIN house, subjects were asked to fill out a research departure form (see Appendix C). This form required that they indicate their status regarding their decision to return to their partner or secure alternative accommodation. The subject's address and phone number and the address and phone number of a close friend were also requested for follow-up purposes.

One month after the stated date of departure, the writer contacted subjects by telephone. At this time the women were asked if they were living with their partner or not. No other information was solicited. While the majority of subjects were available for follow-up using this method, others, due to change of residence during the month or no telephone, were contacted in person. The staff at WIN house contributed to locating subjects through their own follow-up procedures which utilized informal methods, such as friendship networks and support groups which formed as ex-clients returned to visit or called WIN house staff to report on their progress.

Psychological Instruments

Rotter Internal-External Locus of Control Scale

Rotter's (1966) scale, consisting of 23 question pairs and 6 filler items, are all presented in a forced choice format. A point is given for each external statement selected. Scores range from 0 (most internal) to 23 (most external).

Robinson and Shaver (1973) reported that factor analyses have shown the scale to be more multidimensional than originally reported by Rotter, however, there is generally one factor that accounts for the majority of variance: an individual's belief in personal control.

Rotter (1966) obtained an internal consistency coefficient of .73 from a sample of 400 male and female college students. Test-retest reliability coefficients were computed for 60 subjects after one month with a value of .72. According to Hersch and Schiebe (1967), the test-retest reliability of Rotter's scale is consistent and acceptable varying between .49 and .83 for different intervening time periods.

Robinson and Shaver (1973), in a review of the literature, reported that over 50% of the locus of control investigations have employed the Rotter scale and that it has been found to be sensitive to individual differences in perception about control over one's destiny. In addition, correlations with measures of social desirability response bias are typically low, indicating good discriminant validity according to these researchers.

In a number of studies, locus of control has been found to be predictive of certain behaviors and personality traits. Correlations have been reported between internality and need achievement (Lefcourt, 1966), alertness to the environment, resistance to influence (Rotter, 1966), and low anxiety and neuroticism (Feather, 1967). Externals, on the other hand, have been found to be anxious aggressive and dogmatic (Joe, 1971), high in neuroticism (Feather, 1967), and conforming (Lefcourt, 1966).

Although Rotter (1966) found that there were no sex differences in fate control scores, other researchers (Feather, 1967; Joe, 1971; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1981; Tyler & Gatz, 1979) have taken issue with this finding, designating females as somewhat more external. Robinson and Shaver (1973) have suggested that Owens' (1969) male and female means, based on data computed for 4,433 subjects, be utilized in research that uses the Rotter scale.

Of importance to this study was the finding that, while self-esteem and internality have been conceptually related, empirically this relationship has not been confirmed (Fish & Karabenick, 1971). In addition, feminist attitudes, while also being conceptually related to internality, have not evidenced a direct empirical relationship (Sanger & Alker, 1972).

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

Fitts' (1965) Tennessee Self Concept Scale is described as consisting of 90 statements with response categories ranging from completely true to completely false. Ten lie scale items are also included. Five areas or categories of self concept are tapped: physical self, moral ethical self, personal self, family self, and social self. Fitts has labelled these areas as comprising the external frame of reference from which an individual describes him or herself. Each of these areas, in turn, have been subdivided into statements of: self identity ("what I am" items), self satisfaction ("how I feel about myself" items), and behavior ("this is what I do" items). These scales have been represented as reflecting an internal frame of reference from within which an individual describes him or herself. The total positive score for the 90 items provides an overall self-esteem measure.

Fitts recorded the test-retest reliability of the total positive or self-esteem score over a two week period to be .92. Test-retest reliability of the various subscores ranged from .70 to .90.

Evidence of convergent validity has been reported. Robinson and Shaver (1973) found that the scale correlated -.61 with the Butler-Haigh Q-sort, while a correlation of -.70 was reported with the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (Fitts, 1965). Vincent (1968), in a factor analysis, revealed that personal self and self acceptance loaded with similar measures, but not with the same factor emerging for the self control and self acceptance scales of the California Personality Inventory.

Fitts (1965) has also provided evidence for the discriminant and predictive validity of his instrument. The total self-esteem score did not correlate strongly with the California F-Scale (-.21), or agreement response set (-.19), while predicted correlations between self-esteem and neuroticism (-.59), and self-esteem and maladjustment (-.67), were found. The scale correlated strongly with several unpublished self concept inventories. Robinson and Shaver (1973), in a review of the major self concept scales, have rated the Tennessee as the best measurement instrument of its kind in perceived overall quality.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) consists of 25 statements, each of which has four response alternatives ranging from agree strongly to disagree strongly. The statements are in reference to the roles and behaviors of women in such areas as: vocational, educational and intellectual activities; dating behavior and etiquette; and sexual behavior and marital relationships. The AWS is described as reflecting the degree to which an individual holds traditional or liberal views about the rights and roles of women and, in essence, is purported to measure sex role expectations (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Statement responses are scored from 0 to 3, with 3 representing the most profeminist response and 0 the most traditional response.

The 25 item scale, developed by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1973), represents a short version of the original 55 item Spence-Helmreich (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale. The 25 item version was found to correlate almost perfectly with the full set of 55 items for two groups of normative samples. For a student sample, the resulting correlations were .97 for males and .97 for females, while the figures for a sample of mothers and fathers of students were .96 and .96 respectively (Spence et al., 1973). Additionally, Spence et al. found that college women scored significantly higher than college men, and, likewise, mothers of college students scored significantly higher than fathers of college students. Minnigerode (1976) has also confirmed that men score more traditionally than women on the AWS short form.

Spence et al. (1973) have provided some reliability data for the AWS short form. Correlations between total scores and scores on the individual items for students were significant and ranged from .31 to .73. The values for parents ranged from .14 to .70. Stanely, Boots, and Johnson (1975) reported internal consistency reliability coefficients as ranging from .82, for non-student females, to .89 for female and male college students.

Partial validation was established by Kilpatrick and

Smith (1974) who demonstrated that the National Organization of Women members taking the measure scored significantly more profeminist than the Spence et al. sample. Stanley et al. (1975) similarly reported that the AWS short form, administered to five groups of women, could significantly discriminate between the groups in an expected direction. These groups included: politicized women, college women, housewives, members of a religious group, and a "Country Women's Association". In addition, Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975), in a later study, reported a low correlation between the Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the AWS (.06). Beere (1979), in a review of 41 instruments which were designed to assess attitudes toward a variety of sex role issues, concluded that the AWS stands out from other instruments due to the amount of knowledge that has been gathered in relation to its psychometric properties and its extensive use.

Significant correlations between scores on the AWS short form and a number of other personality dimensions have been reported by various researchers. The scale has been found to relate to indices of sex role stereotyping, as measured by the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al., 1975), help-seeking attitudes (Zeldow, 1979), aggressiveness toward attackers (Olive, 1978), and responses to marital stress (Felton, Brown, Lehmann & Liberatos, 1980). One study of battered women (Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981) utilized the AWS to see if abused wives could be differentiated from nonabused wives. While the AWS measure did not yield significant between-group differences among these women, it significantly distinguished between abusive and nonabusive husbands. Abusive husbands were characterized by their conservative or traditional attitudes toward women.

Of importance to the present study was the finding that traditional and liberal attitudes toward women have not been found to be empirically related to measures of self-esteem or self acceptance (Buchwalter, 1976; Giguet, 1977; Spence et al., 1975).

Sociological Measures

The seven sociological measures were taken, in part, from Gelles' (1976) study and included: number of children, age of oldest child, years of education completed, employment, severity and frequency of violence, observation of violence in childhood, and recipient of violence in childhood. The format of the questions pertaining to the development of each scale measure can be found in Appendix B.

The category choices for each question were treated as interval data. That is, for purposes of analysis each successive category was viewed as a point higher than the previous category by assigning a number to it. For example, in reference to the question: "If you have children what is the age of your oldest child?", the number 1 was assigned to the first category (less than two), the number 2 was assigned to the second category (two to five years), and so on up to the assignment of 6 to the last category (over sixteen). It should be noted, however, that the numbers of the interval scale do not represent absolute values for each dimension, but rather, represent differences in values along each dimension.

Although all questions pertaining to the sociological data were presented in a similar fashion, some clarification is needed. In reference to "years of education completed", the category designated as "other combination of education after High School" represented a point higher than vocational or technical certificate but lower than University degree. Only one subject responded to this category indicating "some University". Additionally, the categories pertaining to questions of employment were scaled by increasing order in the following way: (a) not currently employed and no employable skills, (b) not currently employed but have employable skills, (c) currently employed part-time, and (d) currently employed full-time.

The severity of violence scale (see Appendix B) was adopted from the Physical Violence Index, developed by Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) to measure conflict resolution techniques in their study of over 2,000 families. The eight categories, starting with "threw something at me" to "used a knife or gun on me" comprise the Physical Violence Index. The addition of "threatened to hit or throw something at me", while listed as a conflict resolution technique in Straus et al.'s scale, is not considered to be part of the violence index by these researchers. However, it was included in the present study to be consistent with the definition of a battered woman seeking refuge at WIN house, that is, a wife or cohabitee who had been subjected to physical violence, and/or the threat of physical violence, at the hands of her partner.

The frequency of violence scale, or, the number of times specific acts of violence had occurred in the past 12 month period, was dropped from the present study upon inspection of the responses subjects gave. Over 60% of the data was unclassifiable. For example, responses included: "too many times", "repetitous", "10-15 times", "every other day", and checkmarks of the categories. Thus, due to the poor construction of the scale, it was not included for analysis.

Finally, the two questions pertaining to past violence were based on the definition of violence and accompanying categories used in Gelles' (1976) study. The category designated,"does not apply to my childhood because", was utilized due to the prediction that some subjects may have grown up in one-parent families or in situations not involving the nuclear family unit.

Method of Data Analysis

Sets of variables were analyzed in the study in two different ways. The first type of analysis compared group 1 and group 2 on the following sets of variables: (a) three internal self concept measures, (b) five external self concept measures, (c) locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women, and (d) seven sociological measures. The second type of analysis compared group T with a normative sample on the same first three sets of variables listed (a to c).

Two-sample and one-sample Hotelling T^2 tests were used. The two-sample T^2 test compares independent sample mean vectors and is a multivariate version of the t test for independent samples. The one-sample T^2 test compares a vector of sample means against a population vector of means calculated from the same set of observations, and, as above, is a multivariate version of the t test for dependent samples. The order and type of analyses performed were as follows:

1. Two-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing internal self concept outcome measures.

2. Two-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing external self concept outcome measures.

3. Two-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women as outcome measures.

4. Two-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing sociological outcome measures.

5. One-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing internal self concept outcome measures.

6. One-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing external self concept outcome measures.

7. One-sample Hotelling T^2 test utilizing locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women as outcome measures.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter examined the results derived from the statistical analyses described in Chapter Three. Initial consideration was given to a descriptive comparison of the two sample groups on demographic characteristics. Following, results of the two-sample Hotelling T^2 analyses were examined to determine if significant differences existed between women who returned to an abusive partner and those who did not. The two groups of women were compared on sets of psychological and sociological variables. Finally, one-sample Hotelling T^2 analyses, performed on the total sample of battered women, were reviewed to delineate if significant differences were apparant between this group and a sample of the normative population on various psychological dimensions.

Descriptive Comparison of the Sample Groups

Of the 42 women who participated in the study and who were followed-up one month after their departure from WIN house, 13 had returned to live with their husband or partner and 29 had maintained independent or alternative accommodation separate from their violent spouse or partner. The 13 women who returned have been designated as group 1. The 29 non-returners, or those women who had left the violent relationship, were designated as group 2. Additionally, the total sample of 42 women has been designated as group T.

In comparing the two sample groups on demographic characteristics (see Table 3), typically subjects in group 1 were younger (mean=27.54 years) than those in group 2 (mean=29.93 years). Whereas the age distribution for group 1 ranged from 18 to 35, the age of subjects in group 2 ranged from 18 to 47. Approximately 45% of the respondents in group 2 were over 30 years of age.

An examination of the relationship category yielded a similar pattern between the groups with returners (group 1) having been involved in their relationship for a shorter period of time (mean=5.50 years) than non-returners (mean=7.86 years). Approximately 58% of the respondents in group 1 had been in their relationship for less than five years.

Finally, on the categories of marital status, racial origin and religion, group 1 respondents were characterized, in relation to group 2, by greater percentages of common-law relationships, racial minorities, and Protestant religious affiliation.

Test of Hypotheses

A Hotelling T^2 analysis was employed to test each hypothesis (number 1 to number 7). The Hotelling T^2 comparisons test for significant differences between groups by taking into account the covariance among variables while comparing the differences between their means simultaneously.

TABLE 3

DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS
A COMPARISON OF SAMPLE GROUPS

	Group 1		Group 2	
Category	Mean	Percentage	Mean	Percentage
1. Age	27.54		29.93	
18-20		7.70		6.90
21-23		23.10		17.20
24-26		15.40		27.60
27-29		15.40		3.50
30-35		38.50		20.70
36-41		0.00		10.30
42-47		0.00		13.80
2. Relationship[a]	5.50		7.86	
1-2		33.30		24.10
3-4		25.00		20.70
5-6		8.30		17.20
7-8		8.30		0.00
9-10		8.30		10.30
11-15		8.30		10.30
16-20		8.30		6.90
21-25		0.00		10.30
3. Marital Status				
Married		61.50		72.40
Common-Law		38.50		27.60
4. Racial Origin				
Caucasian		66.70		75.00
Native/Metis		25.00		21.40
Oriental		8.30		3.60
5. Religion				
Protestant		53.80		46.40
Catholic		38.50		46.40
Not affiliated		7.70		7.10

Note. Totals for each category do not equal 100% in all cases due to rounding off of errors.

[a] In years

The T^2 multiple statistic has an F - distribution. One advantage of the Hotelling test is that it leads directly to a way of controlling the probability for all multiple tests on linear functions of the means (Morrison, 1967). This decreases the chances of making a type I error by considering the dependence which usually exists amongst variables.

Hypothesis Number 1

There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the following set of internal self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: identity, self satisfaction, behavior.

On the basis of considering the differences, and their particular combinations, between the vector of means of the three variables of the internal self concept set, Table 4 show that the overall Hotelling T^2 statistic for the two groups was 3.726 (F=1.180; df1=3, df2=38) and did not reach significance (P=0.330). All the comparisons between the individual variables proved not significant, although slight differences in means did exist between group 1 and group 2. The non-returners (group 2) obtained higher means on all three internal self concept variables: identity, self satisfaction, and behavior. However, since no significant differences were found, hypothesis one was accepted.

Hypothesis Number 2

There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the following set of external self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: physical self, moral ethical self, personal self, family self, social self.

TABLE 4

TWO-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF INTERNAL SELF CONCEPT VARIABLES

	Group 1	Group 2			
Variable Set	Mean	Mean	T^2	F Ratio[a]	Probability
Identity	111.69	117.62	1.593	0.504	0.682
Self Satisfaction	95.46	102.86	2.416	0.765	0.521
Behavior	103.85	105.07	0.090	0.028	0.993
T^2 STATISTIC			3.726	1.180	0.330

[a] df1=3, df2=38

Table 5 reports the means of the two groups on the five variables which represent the external self concept variable set. The comparison of the vector of means for all variables yielded an overall T^2 value of 10.106 (F=1.819; df1=5, df2=36) which was not significant (P=0.134). All individual variable mean comparisons were not significant, although the means for group 2 (returners) were somewhat higher than group 1 (non-returners) on each measure. On the basis of no significant mean vector differences, hypothesis two was accepted.

Hypothesis Number 3

> There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on any of the following set of measures: Rotter I-E scores, Tennessee Self Concept self-esteem scores, Attitudes Toward Women scores.

Table 6 reveals that the Hotelling T^2 statistic for the two groups was 2.222 (F=0.704; df1=3, df2=38) and did not reach significance (P=0.556). There were also no significant differences when individual comparisons were made between the group means on each variable. However, respondents in group 1 obtained higher mean scores on the locus of control and attitudes toward women variables while group 2 demonstrated a higher mean self-esteem score than group 1. Since no significant vector of mean differences were found, hypothesis number three was accepted.

Hypothesis Number 4

> There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the two groups on the following set of sociological measures: number of children, age of oldest

TABLE 5

TWO-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF EXTERNAL SELF CONCEPT VARIABLES

	Group 1	Group 2			
Variable Set	Mean	Mean	T^2	F Ratio[a]	Probability
Physical Self	61.31	64.10	0.680	0.122	0.986
Moral Ethical Self	66.31	66.52	0.005	0.001	1.000
Personal Self	61.77	62.03	0.007	0.001	1.000
Family Self	58.31	64.59	3.845	0.692	0.633
Social Self	63.31	68.55	3.734	0.672	0.647
T^2 STATISTIC			10.106	1.819	0.134

[a] df1=5, df2=36

TABLE 6

TWO-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF LOCUS OF CONTROL, SELF ESTEEM, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

	Group 1	Group 2			
Variable Set	Mean	Mean	T^2	F Ratio[a]	Probability
Locus of Control	10.00	9.97	0.001	0.000	1.000
Self-esteem	311.23	325.55	1.552	0.491	0.690
AWS	53.92	52.34	0.116	0.037	0.990
T^2 STATISTIC			2.222	0.704	0.556

[a] df1=3, df2=38

child, education, employment, severity (and frequency) of violence, observation of parental violence in childhood, recipient of parental violence in childhood.

The data for the test of this hypothesis excluded the frequency of violence scale. "Worded" responses were commonly given by the subjects and were not classifiable. Therefore, the measure of severity and frequency of violence should read "severity of violence" only in the above hypothesis.

Since the means for the two groups on each of the seven sociological variables would not be representing absolute values, descriptive statistics (see Table 7 and Table 8) were derived first as a method of comparing the two groups.

Table 7 shows the percentages for group 1 (returners) and group 2 (non-returners) on the scales of the first four sociological, or personal resource, variables. The subjects in group 1 typically had no more than three children, whereas the number of children in group 2 ranged from one to four or more. Of the subjects in group 1, 76.92% had an oldest child who was under nine years of age, as compared to 65.51% of group 2. Children over sixteen years of age were not represented in group 1.

While over half of the respondents in both groups had not completed high school, a larger percentage of group 2 (39.28%) had attained high school, or some post secondary education, than group 1 (23.07%). Unemployment at the time

TABLE 7

SOCIOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

A COMPARISON OF SAMPLE GROUPS ON PERSONAL RESOURCE VARIABLES

Variable	Group 1 Percentage	Group 2 Percentage
1. Number of Children		
One	23.08	20.69
Two	30.77	41.38
Three	46.15	17.24
Four or more	0.00	20.69
2. Age of Oldest Child		
Less than Two	7.69	10.34
Two to Five	46.15	37.93
Six to Nine	23.08	17.24
Ten to Thirteen	7.69	6.90
Thirteen to Sixteen	15.39	20.69
Over Sixteen	0.00	6.90
3. Education		
Grades 6 - 9	23.08	21.43
Some High School	53.85	39.29
Completed High School	7.69	17.86
Voc. or Tech. Cert.	7.69	17.86
Other combination	7.69	3.56
4. Employment		
Unemployed	76.92	72.41
Employed	23.08	27.59

TABLE 8

SOCIOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

A COMPARISON OF SAMPLE GROUPS ON VARIABLES OF VIOLENCE

	Group 1	Group 2
Variable	Percentage	Percentage
Severity of Violence[a]		
1. Threatened to hit or throw something	0.00	3.57
2. Threw something	0.00	0.00
3. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved	0.00	10.71
4. Slapped	16.67	3.57
5. Kicked, bit, or hit with fist	16.67	7.14
6. Hit or tried to hit with object	0.00	0.00
7. Beat up	41.67	21.43
8. Threatened with a knife or gun	16.67	39.29
9. Used a knife or gun	8.33	14.29
Observation of Parental Violence		
None	33.33	71.42
Infrequent[b]	16.67	14.29
Frequent[c]	50.00	14.29
Recipient of Parental Violence		
None	23.08	68.97
Infrequent[b]	30.77	10.34
Frequent[c]	46.15	20.69

[a] The most severe violence was tabulated for each group

[b] Less than six times a year

[c] From monthly to daily

of study was also typical of both groups. However, a slightly larger percentage of subjects in group 1 were unemployed than in group 2.

Table 8 presents descriptive data for the two groups on the three sociological variables pertaining to violence. In reference to the nine item severity of violence scale, the percentages for each group represented the most severe violence experienced by subjects during the course of their relationship. A greater percentage (53.58%) of the non-returners (group 2) were found to have experienced the two most severe acts of violence (items 8 and 9), as compared to 25% of the returners (group 1). A large majority (66.67%) of subjects in group 1 had observed parental violence during childhood and were also the recipients of parental violence during childhood (76.92%). On the other hand, 28.58% of the respondents in group 2 had observed violence and only 31.03% reported having been a recipient of violence during childhood.

To test hypothesis four a two-sample Hotelling T^2 test was conducted utilizing the seven sociological variables. Table 9 shows the means of the two groups on the set of variables. The overall T^2 statistic was 7.893 (f=0.923; df1=7, df2=27) and was not significant (P=0.505). Individual variable comparisons for each group also did not reach significance. Given no differences between the mean vectors of the two groups, hypothesis four was accepted.

TABLE 9

TWO-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES

	Group 1	Group 2			
Variable Set	Mean	Mean	T^2	F Ratio[a]	Probability
Number of Children	2.36	2.21	0.211	0.025	1.000
Age of Oldest Child	2.91	2.83	0.023	0.003	1.000
Education	2.82	3.04	0.140	0.016	1.000
Employment	2.27	2.25	0.004	0.000	1.000
Severity of Violence	5.45	5.92	0.448	0.052	1.000
Observation of Violence	2.09	1.46	4.356	0.509	0.819
Recipient of Violence	2.36	1.54	6.863	0.802	0.595
T^2 STATISTIC			7.893	0.923	0.505

[a] df1=7, df2=27

Conclusion

Results of the two-sample Hotelling T^2 analyses failed to reveal any significant differences between the sample groups. Women who returned to a battering relationship could not be distinguished from those who did not in terms of the vector of means obtained for each group on sets of: internal self concept measures; external self concept measures; measures of locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women; and sociological measures. In addition, group mean comparisons on individual variables within sets did not yield any significant differences.

Some very general trends were identified when descriptive comparisons were made. Examining the relative frequency distributions and mean scores for each group, group 1 (returners), in contrast to group 2 (non-returners), tended to be younger, involved in a violent relationship for fewer years, and, in a majority of cases, had experienced less severe violence over the course of their relationship. A majority of group 1 respondents had observed, and were the recipients of, parental violence during childhood, whereas only a minority of group 2 respondents reported such a history.

When psychological variables were examined, group 2 were found to score somewhat higher on all measures of internal and external self concept and self-esteem. On the other hand, group 1 tended to score slightly higher on locus of control and the AWS.

Hypothesis Number 5

There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the following set of internal self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: identity, self satisfaction, behavior.

Results of the one-sample Hotelling T^2 test, presented in Table 10, display the means obtained for the entire sample of women (group T) and the corresponding means reported from the sample of the normative population on each of the internal self concept variables. The overall T^2 statistic was 44.248 (F=14.030; df1=3, df2=39) and was significant ($p < .01$), indicating differences between the vector of means of the samples. Since the normative population dispersion matrix was known, individual comparisons of the samples on each variable were conducted using a Z test. Significant negative differences between the samples were found for identity ($Z=-5.189$, $p < .01$) and behavior ($Z=-5.959$, $p < .01$). The Z value for the self satisfaction variable was -1.414 and did not reach significance ($p > .05$).

Given the significant mean vector differences on the set of internal self concept variables, hypothesis five was rejected. It was also concluded that the group of battered women demonstrated significantly lower scores on two measures of internal self concept (identity and behavior) when compared to the normative sample.

TABLE 10

ONE-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF INTERNAL SELF CONCEPT VARIABLES

Variable Set	Group T Mean	Normative Sample Mean[a]	z Value	Probability Level
Identity	115.79	127.00	-5.189	$p < .01$
Self Satisfaction	100.57	103.00	-1.414	$p > .05$
Behavior	104.69	115.00	-5.959	$p < .01$
		T^2	F Ratio[b]	Probability
T^2 STATISTIC		44.248	14.030	0.000*

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[a] Normative means rounded to .00 due to computer program format

[b] df1=3, df2=39

* $p < .01$

Hypothesis Number 6

There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the following set of external self concept scores of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale: physical self, moral ethical self, personal self, family self, social self.

The results of the one-sample Hotelling T^2 analysis utilized to test this hypothesis are shown in Table 11. The T^2 statistic for the set of external self concept variables was 39.847 (F=7.192; df1=5, df2=37) and was significant ($p < .01$). The Z values obtained for each of the variables proved to be significant for physical self ($Z=-6.545$, $p < .01$), moral ethical self ($Z=-2.643$, $p < .01$), and family self ($Z=-5.601$, $p < .01$). Differences between the samples were not found on the variables of personal self ($Z=-1.791$, $p > .05$) and social self ($Z=-.884$, $p > .05$). Therefore, hypothesis six was rejected and it was concluded that differences did exist between the samples. The battered women in this study scored significantly lower than a sample of the normative population on three measures of external self concept: physical self, moral ethical self, and family self.

Hypothesis Number 7

There will be no significant difference between the vector of means of the entire sample of battered women and a sample of the normative population on any of the following set of measures:. Rotter I-E scores, Tennessee Self Concept self-esteem scores, Attitudes Toward Women scores.

Table 12 presents the means for the entire sample

TABLE 11

ONE-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF EXTERNAL SELF CONCEPT VARIABLES

	Group T	Normative Sample		Probability
Variable Set	Mean	Mean[a]	Z Value	Level
Physical Self	63.24	71.00	-6.545	$p < .01$
Moral Ethical Self	66.45	70.00	-2.643	$p < .01$
Personal Self	61.95	64.00	-1.791	$p > .05$
Family Self	62.71	70.00	-5.601	$p < .01$
Social Self	66.93	68.00	-.884	$p > .05$
		T^2	F Ratio[b]	Probability
T^2 STATISTIC		39.847	7.192	0.000*

[a] Normative means rounded to .00 due to computer program format

[b] df1=5, df2=37

* $p < .01$

TABLE 12

ONE-SAMPLE HOTELLING T^2 COMPARISON OF LOCUS OF CONTROL, SELF ESTEEM, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

	Group T	Normative Sample		
Variable Set	Mean	Mean[a]	Z Value	Probability Level
Locus of Control	9.98	8.00	+3.369	$p < .01$
Self-esteem	321.12	345.00	-5.031	$p < .01$
AWS	52.83	41.00	+6.598	$p < .01$
		T^2	F Ratio[b]	Probability
T^2 STATISTIC		98.815	30.698	0.000*

[a] Normative means rounded to .00 due to computer program format

[b] df1=3, df2=39

* $p < .01$

(group T) and the sample of the normative population. A one-sample Hotelling T^2 analysis yielded a T^2 statistic of 98.815 (F=30.698, df1=3, df2=39) which was significant ($p < .01$). Group T was found to obtain significantly higher means on locus of control ($Z=+3.369$, $p < .01$) and the AWS ($Z=+6.598$, $p < .01$). A significantly lower mean score was demonstrated on the self-esteem measure ($Z=-5.031$, $p < .01$). Subsequently, hypothesis seven was rejected due to the finding of significant mean differences between the two samples. Additionally, the sample of battered women were significantly more external and profeminist, or liberal, in their views about women and displayed significantly lower self-esteem scores than the norm.

Conclusion

The one-sample Hotelling T^2 analyses, conducted to test hypotheses five through seven, revealed significant vector of mean differences between the two samples on sets of internal and external self concept measures, and on measures of locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women. The entire sample of battered women, when matched with a sample of the normative population, were found to score significantly lower on two measures of internal self concept (identity and behavior), and three measures of external self concept (physical self, moral ethical self, and family self). The total group of women were also significantly more external, in terms of locus of control, and more liberal in their views about the rights and roles of women, as reflected by the AWS.

Summary

The results of the statistical analyses presented in this chapter supported four of the hypotheses indicating: no differences between group 1(battered women who returned to a violent relationship) and group 2 (battered women who left a violent relationship) on sets of: internal self concept measures, external self concept measures, and locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women.

Three of the hypotheses were rejected indicating that the total sample of battered women in this study, when compared to a sample of the normative population, differed significantly on the psychological dimensions of: internal self concept, external self concept, and locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In general terms, the main purpose of this research was to examine if battered women who left a violent relationship could be distinguished from those who returned on the basis of a number of sociological and psychological variables identified from the literature. The sociological variables included: number of children, age of oldest child, education, employment, severity of violence, observation of parental violence during childhood, and being a recipient of parental violence during childhood. The psychological variables included: internal and external self concept, locus of control, self-esteem, and attitudes toward women. No significant differences between the two groups of women were found. Utilizing the psychological variables, a second purpose of the study was to determine if battered women, as a group, differed from a sample of the normative population. Battered women were found to differ significantly from the norm on a number of the psychological variables.

The present chapter deals first with a discussion and integration of the findings. Descriptive themes, that emerged from an examination of the distribution of scores for the two groups of women, were addressed first. Secondly, the significant findings of the total group of battered women were integrated in relation to the literature in the field pertinent to the study of battered women's personalities.

In conclusion, recommendations for future research were proposed and the implications for therapeutic intervention with battered women examined.

Discussion

Descriptive Themes

Although this study did not reveal any significant differences between women who left a battering relationship and those who returned, some relevant descriptive themes were identified when comparisons were made on several demographic characteristics and sociological variables.

In addressing the demographic characteristics, women who returned to a violent partner were, on the average, two years younger and had been involved in a violent relationship for approximately two years less than those women who left. Additionally, the women who returned were all 35 years of age or younger.

These observations were consistent with the literature. For example, Snell et al. (1964) found that women under 35 rarely attempted to permanently end a violent relationship. Continuing hope for their partner's reform, which is reflected by a pattern of temporarily leaving and then returning, may be more characteristic of younger women during the earlier years of an abusive relationship. The longer women remain in the situation, the more likely they would be to believe that change would not occur and take steps to permanently leave. The percentage distribution of age and length of relationship for returners and non-returners in this study may be accounted for by these factors.

An examination of the two groups on the sociological variables of violence also revealed differential themes. While the women who left did not significantly differ from those who returned in terms of the severity of violence they had experienced, a majority of them (53.58%) had experienced the two most severe acts of violence: the threat and/or use of a lethal weapon by their partner during a marital dispute. Only a minority of the women who returned (25%) had experienced this extent of violence in their relationship. Severity of violence has been cited in the literature, most notably by Gelles (1976), as one of the key factors associated with leaving. In the present study, the majority of women who left had experienced potentially lethal violence which may have prompted their move to separate.

Observation of parental violence during childhood and being a recipient of parental violence during childhood were two other sociological variables examined for descriptive themes. The majority of women who left were characterized by an absence of violence during childhood. Approximately 71% had not observed parental violence and 69% reported no physical abuse during childhood. On the other hand, about 68% of those who returned had observed some parental violence and 77% had been recipients of parental violence.

Gelles (1976), in his study of battered women, made the predication that the less a woman experienced violence in her family of orientation, the more likely she would be to view marital violence as deviant and thus seek intervention or divorce. Although this prediction was not supported in Gelles' research, there does appear to be a suggestion from the present study that there was a greater liklihood for women who had not experienced violence in their familys of orientation to leave their violent partner.

In summary, although no significant differences were found between battered women who returned to an abusive relationship and those who did not, some descriptive themes of the two groups were identified. The women who returned, as contrasted to those who did not, can be described as: (a) younger, (b) involved in a battering relationship for fewer years, (c) experienced somewhat less severe violence during the course of their relationship, and (d) were characterized by having observed and experienced parental violence during childhood. These general observations can be viewed as providing ripe areas for future research.

An Integration of Significant Findings

The significant personality differences found for the total group of battered women will be discussed in relation to the general literature in the field and the hypotheses that have been set forth by Walker (1978a, 1979b, 1981, Note 3).

As discussed in Chapter Two, Walker has proposed a model of the Battered Women's Syndrome which attempts to link the psychological effects of battering with the condition of learned helplessness. The helplessness theory has been utilized, in part, to account for the personality characteristics that have been consistently cited throughout the descriptive literature as typifying battered women.

Self Concept

The battered women in this study scored significantly lower than the published test norms on two measures of internal self concept: identity and behavior. No significant difference was found on a third measure of internal self concept, self satisfaction.

In general, the significantly lower scores indicated that the women saw themselves, in terms of identity, as less favorable than the norm; displaying a low, or negative, opinion of "self" and their sense of worth. Secondly, they perceived their behavior and actions in predominantly negative ways, viewing their everyday functioning as "bad" or "wrong". The low identity and behavior scores indicate a disparity or incongruence between expectation and reality. Thus, battered women described themselves as falling short of meeting the standards and expectations of how they would like to regard themselves and behave. At the same time, their sense of self satisfaction, or how they "felt" about the "self" they perceived, was marked by an acceptance of these negative qualities.

A low or negative self concept has often been cited as characteristic of battered women. Walker (1978b) has held the belief that a negative self concept results because battered women do not experience success and control in managing to prevent battering incidents. Ball and Wyman (1978) have maintained that control is a necessary pre-condition for the development of identity. Adherence to rigid sex role stereotypes has also been viewed as reinforcing women's low self concepts by creating unrealistic expectations for how they should perform the role of wife (Walker, 1981, Ridington, 1978). Waites (1978) has found that the "role of wife" often remains as a cornerstone of identity for many battered women. In terms of identity, it has been Walker's (1981) contention that if a battered woman cannot live up to all the unrealistic and rigid sex role traditions, she will be more likely to believe the batterer's accusations and distortions of her failure. The general low regard and lack of self worth typical of the women in this study may be accounted for by a number of the above dynamics.

In addressing the finding related to behavioral self concept, Hilberman and Munson (1978) have commented that many women often justify the abuse they receive by holding the faulty belief that their behavior is bad, wrong, or provocative and therefore feel that they are deserving of the abuse they receive. In addition, a woman's inability to act and leave the violent situation would, in all liklihood, negatively affect a woman's perceptions of her behavior.

In relation to the insignificant finding concerning the variable of self satisfaction, it is the writer's opinion that this may reflect a woman's belief or feeling that she is able to control the violence and behavior of her partner by manipulating the environment to please him. Walker (Note 3) has commented that, while each new battering incident lowers self concept as the woman faces her inability to control the batterer and live up to his expectations, that at the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, she holds on to a belief that she has the strength to eventually stop his abusive behavior. This belief is often reinforced after a battering incident when the batterer behaves in a kind and loving manner. The idea is tentatively offered here that since self satisfaction is defined as how individuals "feel" about the "self" they perceive in relation to their sense of identity and behavior, that this may reflect a woman's confidence that she can reduce the disparity between expectation and reality if she continues to strive to be a better wife and attempts to become more compliant and "good" in terms of her behavior.

In examining the results in reference to self concept, the battered women in this study scored significantly below the published test norms on three aspects of external self concept: physical self, moral ethical self and family self. No significant differences were found on two other aspects of external self concept: personal self and social self. The five scores represent a frame of reference from which an individual describes or presents a view of him or her self in relation to the world and others.

The significantly low mean scores obtained in this study are indicative of the following: (a) battered women presented their view of their body, health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality in primarily more negative terms than the norm and generally held a low opinion or image of themselves physically, (b) battered women presented their view of their moral worth, relationship to God, feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and satisfaction with their religion in more negative terms than the norm and generally held a low opinion or image of themselves as a moral person, (c) battered women reflected their feelings of adequacy and value as a family member in more negative terms than the norm and were doubtful about their worth as a family member.

It was not surprising to find that the women in this study had a negative physical self concept. A poor physical and sexual self image has been a well documented finding in the literature (Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Walker, 1981, Boyd Klingbeil, Note 5) and is thought to incur because of a perceived loss of body integrity due to physical violation.

It has also been documented (Boyd & Klingbeil, Note 5) that battered women often tend to define themselves in terms of family and may lose sight of the ego boundaries that exist between themselves and their children. If the family aspect of self concept is judged by the extent of the disparity which exists between expectation and reality, then the battered women in this study could be seen as feeling inadequate in terms of not meeting the standards and goals they set for themselves in regards to their role as mother and homemaker. Again, this aspect of self may be closely tied to the issues of self identity discussed earlier.

Finally, in addressing the finding related to moral ethical self, suffice it to say that the women in this study had little confidence in their moral adequacy and low regard for their worth in relationship to God. Little has been written on how religious morals and values affect women in battering situations. However, there is some evidence that religious values may contribute to a battered woman's helplessness, and consequent low self image, if her religion dictates that divorce or separation are taboo (Walker, 1979b).

An examination of the non-significant findings indicated that battered women fell within the average range on the measures of personal self (an individual's evaluation of personality and worth apart from their relationship with others) and social self (an individual's sense of adequacy and worth in social interactions with other people). Although these findings were not predicted a tenative theoretical explanation could be offered. Walker (1978b) has attempted to account for women's seemingly incongruent self perceptions by her proposition that their feelings of self-doubt, unworthiness and helplessness may be specific to the male/female dyadic relationship and the family nexus only. She has noted that apart from "significant others", women are often found to describe themselves as competent and adequate in relation to their careers and association with others outside the violent relationship.

In summary, battered women can be described as displaying an impaired self concept, both in terms of a negative perception of "self" and "self in relation to significant others". Feelings of inadequacy and low self regard in relation to their sense of identity and behavioral functioning were characteristic. They were also doubtful about their moral worth, demonstrated a negative physical self image and sense of inadequacy in relation to their role in the family.

Locus of Control, Self-Esteem, and Attitudes Toward Women

The battered women were found to be significantly more externally oriented when compared to the published test norm.

Since locus of control has been defined as the extent to which individuals perceive contingency relationships between their actions and their outcomes, the women generally demonstrated a belief that their outcomes were determined by agents or factors extrinsic to themselves, for example, by fate, luck, powerful others, or the unpredictable.

This finding was not surprising in light of the predictions that Walker (1979b) has made concerning battered women's helplessness orientation and their belief in the causation of events. An external orientation has been posited as the personality dimension that underlies helplessness and the expectancy that responding and outcome are independent. Thus, as Walker has proposed, women who can be classified as having an external locus of control are those most likely to become victims of learned helplessness and find themselves entrapped in a violent relationship.

The total group were also found to score significantly lower than the norm on the self-esteem measure. Closely related to the descriptive characteristics of self concept, the battered women were doubtful about their own worth, saw themselves as undesirable, and experienced feelings of anxiety, depression, and unhappiness. These results were, again, consistent with the descriptions that have been given throughout the literature. Additionally, the anxiety and depression that is often associated with this level of esteem corroborates the findings of many clinical studies.

Finally, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale yielded unexpected results. The women were found to be significantly more profeminist or liberal than the normative sample in the views they held about the rights and roles of women in society. In other words, they exhibited liberal attitudes in regards to sex role expectations.

These results, however, must be interpreted with caution in consideration of the test norms used in the analysis. The normative means provided for this attitude measure were derived from two samples of women: college students and mothers of college students. The normative mean for mothers was utilized in the present study due to the fact that the group of battered women were all raising families and had not attained the degree of education that would characterize college students. However, even when compared to the college mean (50.26), they were found to score somewhat, although not significantly, higher (52.83).

One of the problems involved in assessing attitudes toward women's issues is that the behavioral concomitants of the expressed attitudes are generally unknown (Beere, 1979). That is, attitude scores on such measures may only reflect an individual's "ideal expectations" about the behavior and roles of women in society, rather than predicting the individual's actual functioning in such roles. The implication of this point of view is that the degree to which women hold liberal sex role expectations may have relatively little relationship to the degree to which they perceive themselves as corresponding to these sex roles.

Conclusion

The results of this study, in relation to battered women's personality profiles, have provided some empirical support for the descriptive literature in the field and, in part, supported Walker's model of the Battered Women's Syndrome and the theory of learned helplessness.

Throughout the literature three consistent personality characteristics have been cited as describing battered women: low self-esteem and a negative or diminished self concept, helplessness and powerlessness, and adherence to traditional sex role stereotypes. The battered women in this study demonstrated a negative self concept on a number of scales which measured various aspects of the "self" dimension. They also displayed an overall low level of self-esteem. The aversive outcome of love and violence together is thought to lower self-esteem and result in a negative self concept as a woman faces her inability to control a violent partner. Secondly, women were found to be more externally oriented in their sense of locus of control which has been theoretically linked to a helplessness orientation, feelings of powerlessness, and entrapment in the relationship. Finally, this research did not support those studies that have characterized battered women as adhering to traditional sex role sterotypes. Rather, the women in this study were found to be liberal in their attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in society. However, an attitudinal measure, as opposed to a more direct or self-rating instrument of sex role stereotypical behavior, was utilized and this may have accounted for the unexpected results.

Limitations of the Research

The prime limitations of the research were viewed as pertaining to sampling procedures and design. To begin with, subjects were not randomly selected, the sample size was small and drawn from a limited population of battered women, and standard controlled procedures were not employed while the test batteries were administered. Results from such samples are limited in their generalizability. The representativeness of the sample was therefore unknown. In other words, there exists a very real question as to whether the women who answered the questionnaire were characteristic of the population of battered women or even the shelter populous in general. Secondly, there were more than likely undetermined biases in those who did participate as they were self-selected volunteer subjects.

The two groups of battered women who were demarcated on the basis of whether they returned to live with a violent partner or not, yielded groups of unexpected sample size. The small sample of returners, 13 in number, greatly increased the chances of statistical error being a contributing factor to the results. In addition, the findings obtained when the two groups were compared on the sociological variables, must be viewed in relation to the scales constructed to measure these variables. According to standard texts on measurement, there is no guarantee that the consecutive numbers on a measurement scale really represent equal increments in the characteristics being measured.

Finally, in examining the one month follow-up procedures, it should be noted that the possibility existed that some of the women who were identified as having left the violent situation, may have returned to their partners after the period of study.

Recommendations for Future Research

Many areas mentioned within this study need more extensive development and research. The theories and descriptive studies discussed have had little systematic testing against empirical data. Many questions posed in relation to the study of battered women and the dynamics of violent behavior between intimates are still left unanswered.

What determinants lead a woman to remain with an abusive partner? It is not simply how often she was hit, nor how much education she has. Remaining in the situation should be viewed as the result of a complex interrelationship of factors. How does previous experience with family violence affect a woman's response to abuse? The individual sociological factors that have been posited as affecting a woman's decision need to be systematically studied in relation to, and not apart from, situational and interpersonal variables. Stratified samples across demographic categories should be employed when examining the personal and economic constraints that impinge on battered women.

In addressing psychological issues, much remains to be done. Walker's formulations in relation to learned helplessness and the psychology of battered women need further investigation. No empirical evidence to date supports the hypothesis that sex role socialization and rigid stereotyping during childhood produce non-contingent responses for women and subsequent helplessness. Another fruitful area of inquiry may be the examination of the relationship between sex role socialization and a women's causal attributions. However, caution must be taken when attempting to theoretically interpret the observed clinical symptoms and personality traits of battered women.

It will be a difficult task for researchers to start to separate those psychological problems which are precipitated by the battering, from those which are due to other individual factors for a particular woman. Thus, long term follow-up or longitudinal studies of personality are needed to evaluate change in behavior, personal development, and personality that is facilitated by leaving the violent relationship. The constellation of characteristics that may constitute the "victimization syndrome" have just begun to be explored.

With particular reference to the present study, the following improvements and extentions are suggested:

1. Identification of a large cross section of battered women, employing demographic stratification of the sample, would have improved the design. A long term follow-up could then have been conducted to demarcate those women who remained separated, from those who returned. A time period of one year away from a violent partner could provide the criterion for "leaving".

2. A discriminant function data analysis could have been used which would discriminate between groups and, at the same time, test the effectiveness of the measuring instruments in separating women who leave from those who do not. Such an analysis could lead to the development of an optimum test battery which could be used to predict the liklihood of a woman's decision.

3. In all probability the tests used in the study had their shortcomings. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale and the Rotter Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, by virtue of their long history, have been criticized. An analysis which would have examined the self concept scales of the Tennessee for correlation or overlap could have been conducted before using this instrument. In addition, intercorrelations for each group on the measures would have

provided an interesting comparison of profiles for the groups.

4. An added dimension to the research design might have involved initially testing subjects and, incorporated in a follow-up study, retesting to assess changes on scores of the personality instruments.

In conclusion, it should be realized that the whole area of familial violence, and the study of battered women per se, remains at the stage of infancy, both theoretically and empirically. However, the need for more research into the psychology of violent behavior between intimates becomes a critical issue for those who are called upon to provide immediate and effective treatment for the victim.

Implications for Treatment

The approach to the treatment of battered women has to occur on two levels. Ultimately, the problem of battering, and other forms of abuse, will only be alleviated by changes in societal values and cultural norms. In the face of the crisis that has been kept behind closed doors, the silence of a community that has viewed the problem as a family matter, and applied few resources and sanctions to assist, will not provide a ready environment for help. Public and professional education, the development and coordination of responsive services, and the funding and greater availability of emergency shelters and transition houses, is a needed first step. Additionally, the legislation of laws to protect battered women have been long overdue.

The approach to the second level for treatment of the problem, most importantly, involves individual counselling and therapy. Psychology has done little in the past to train professionals in the specific needs of battered women. Often, inadvertently, they have added to a woman's loss of self-esteem by joining in the conspiracy of silence that surrounds battering by concentrating on her provocative nature. To follow are some of the writer's own formulations regarding treatment that are implied from this study and her own work with battered women.

In a direct treatment situation, an awareness of external constraints can be helpful in raising self-esteem for a woman, as well as helping her sort out the extent to which her own actions interact with circumstances to keep her in a destructive situation. If a woman's reality testing (which often involves a clear and correct perception of the negative alternatives actually available to her including lethality) is devalued as incorrect, she will be unable to disentangle the realistic versus unrealistic aspects of her own behavior. Therefore, behavioral and cognitive changes should be encouraged at first. This is also a beginning step toward re-establishing response-outcome contingencies.

If the woman is in the violent situation, these changes must be approached with extreme caution due to the liklihood of escalation of the violence if patterns of interaction change within the relationship. Secondly, it has been the writer's experience in counselling battered women, that termination of the relationship is often met with murderous rage on the part of the batterer. Removal of the woman and her children from the home to a safe environment is often essential to adequate long term treatment.

An exploration and identification of the mythology surrounding battering should be identified and challenged early in therapy. For example, the violence may be rationalized by a woman who sees her partner as sick or needy and therefore her presence in the abusive situation is felt to be essential to his well-being. The violence may also be justified by her belief that she is bad or provocative, or viewed as controllable, if she continues to be compliant. These, and other myths, may all serve to reinforce a woman's markedly impaired self-concept.

It is often helpful for a counsellor to provide information about wife battering behavior so that it can be seen by the woman, no only as an individual dilemma but, in the context of a broad social problem which affects the lives of many women. Identifying with women and providing mutual aid and support can be facilitated in the transition or shelter milieu. Many transition houses have provided a setting or social context in which alternative ideologies and behaviors are offered; where women see other women acting authoritatively and behaving independently in situations which require decision making. Women in these settings can learn to define their own acts, accept responsibility for them, and begin to see themselves in new and different roles as competent and capable individuals.

While the therapy process should begin with a very directive approach, the counsellor must be careful not to attempt to "rescue" the battered woman or facilitate a dependence of the woman on him or herself. To "rescue" her often is an oppressive act and presumptuous since it may collude with her negative self concepts and sense of impotence. Other strategies for raising self-esteem, competence, control, and self image include: (a) focusing on strengths and stressing the many positives, (b) re-establishing personal control over the body through relaxation training, bio-feedback, or other forms of individual body work, and (c) assertiveness training.

For many women, a loss of sense of self can be seen as a necessary step in a death and rebirth process which must take place in order for a new identity, new roles, and new behaviors to supplant the old. To achieve a reconceptualization of self from "victim" and "failure" to competent, autonomous person is a process which is neither easy or painless for the battered woman in our society.

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APPENDIX A

COVERING LETTER AND INTRODUCTION TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

With the permission of WIN house, and in conjunction with their staff, I would like to ask your cooperation in taking the time to fill out the following questionnaire.

The scales and questions presented are designed to measure the personal history, feelings, and viewpoints of women who seek WIN house as a place of safety. The results will be used to find out what types of situations, emotional needs, and experiences, women hold in common. It is hoped that with this information a better understanding of women and their families in similar circumstances will be gained and the quality of help and services improved. Therefore, your personal contribution is important and much needed.

Although some questions may appear to be very personal in nature, each has a specific purpose and you are guaranteed that the results will be treated with strict confidentiality - no names will be used in the final study and you will remain anonymous. However, I am requesting that you allow me, or one of the staff, to contact you (either by mail or telephone) one month after you have left WIN house. We would like to know if you decided to return to live with your husband/ partner or if you decided to choose an alternative living situation. We will request this information for statistical purposes only. This data is being collected by D. Boddington as part of a study for a masters thesis in counselling.

In filling out the questionnaire, answer each question as it applies to you. Please answer each item as quickly, but as accurately, as possible. It may be difficult to decide on an answer for some questions, however, please try to answer all.

I would like to emphasize again how important your personal contribution would be and thank you for your cooperation.

If you wish to recive a summary of the results of the study, please contact WIN house. In turn, I will mail you a copy.

The questionnaire takes approximately one hour to fill out.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Name________________________ Home Address__________________

Age____________ Phone Number__________________

Marital status with present partner (check one) married____

living together (common-law)____

Length of relationship____________

Your racial origin________________

Husband's/partner's racial origin________________

Religion__________________

For the following questions, please check the appropriate category:

Number of children:

none_____
one_____
two_____
three_____
four or more_____

If you have children what is the age of your oldest child?

less than two_____
two to five years_____
six to nine years_____
ten to thirteen years_____
thirteen to sixteen years_____
over sixteen_____

How many years of education have you completed?

grades 6-9_____
grade 10_____
grade 11_____
Completed High School_____
Vocational or technical certificate_____
University degree_____
Other combination of education after
High School (please specify) ____________________________

Are you currently employed? Yes_____ No_____

If you answered yes are you employed: Part-time_____
Full-time_____
Both _____

In what position/positions: ______________________________
____

If you are not currently employed, do you have some employable skills which would enable you to get a job?

Yes_____ No_____

If you answered yes, please list your employable job skills:

____
____
____

Is your husband/partner currently employed?

Yes_____ No_____

If you answered yes, what is your husband's/partner's current occupation?

____

The following question is in two parts. In the left hand column is a list of some things that your husband/partner might have done when you had a dispute. Please check off those categories which describe the types of abuse you have experienced from your partner during the course of your marriage/relationship. In the right hand column estimate how often you have experienced these types of abuse in the last year of your marriage/relationship.

During the course of our marriage/relationship my partner has:		In the last year this has occurred (number of times):
Threatened to hit or throw something at me	_____	_____
Threw something at me	_____	_____
Pushed, grabbed or shoved me	_____	_____
Slapped me	_____	_____
Kicked, bit, or hit me with his fist	_____	_____
Hit or tried to hit me with some object	_____	_____
Beat me up	_____	_____
Threatened me with a knife or gun	_____	_____
Used a knife or gun on me	_____	_____

In the past has abuse occurred most often when your husband/ partner has been under the influence of alcohol or drugs?

Yes_____ No_____

For purposes of this study, if we define violence as an act with the intent of physically hurting or injuring someone - please rate the following using this definition:

While I was growing up(ages 2-16) I observed my parents being violent to each other:

Not at all_____
Less than six times a year_____
From monthly to daily_____
Does not apply to my childhood because(explain)__________
____

While I was growing up, either my mother or father were violent toward me:

Not at all_____
Less than six times a year_____
From monthly to daily_____
Does not apply to my childhood because(explain)__________
____

To follow are three questionnaires asking your opinions and feelings about different issues. Read the instructions to each carefully before beginning.

Pages 171 to 184 inclusive have been removed due to the lack of availability of copyright permission. The references for the three psychological instruments that were utilized in this study are as follows:

1. The Rotter Internal-External Locus of Control Scale

Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 1966, *80* (1, whole No. 609).

2. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale

Fitts, W. H. *Tennessee self concept scale: Manual*. Nashville, Tenn.: Counselor Recordings and Tests, 1965.

3. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale

Spence, J. T., Helmreich, T., & Stapp, J. A short version of the attitudes toward women scale (AWS). *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 1973, *2*, 219-220.

APPENDIX C

DEPARTURE FORM

RESEARCH DEPARTURE FORM

The names, addresses, and phone numbers listed below are guaranteed to be treated with strict confidentiality. They will be released to no one unless specific permission is given.

To be completed in full for every woman leaving WIN house commencing August 6, 1980.

Name____________________________

Date of Departure_______________

Length of stay______________

Departure Status:

a) Independent Living (Please specify)

____

b) Return to husband's/partner's home (Please specify)

____

c) Other (Please specify)

____

c) Unknown (Please specify)

____

*Important:

Home address__________________________

Home phone number___________________

If you are not returning to your home address please list where you believe you will be one month from this date.

Address_________________________

Phone number___________________

Please provide the name, address and phone number of a close friend or relative who is aware of your situation and will know where to contact you in a months time.

Name____________________________

Address__________________________

Phone number____________________

One month from today we will attempt to contact you either by mail or telephone. At this time we will ask only if you are living with your husband/partner or not - no other information will be required.